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OF

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1812.

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CHESTERFIELD.

"I verily think, there are few things he ever wrote, that he did not wish to be PUBLISHED at one time or other."

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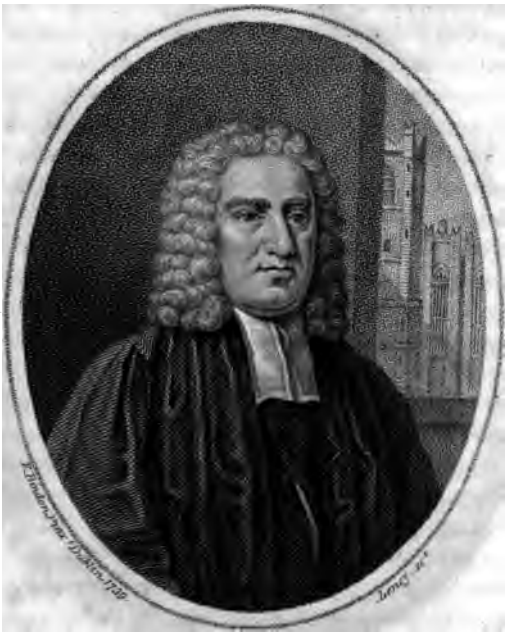


SWIFT

THE

WORKS

OF THE

REV. JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED BY

THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

A NEW EDITION, IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

CORRECTED AND REVISED

BY JOHN NICHOLS, F. A. S.

EDINBURGH AND PERTH.

VOLUME I.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DURELL AND CO.

1812.

LENOX LIBRARY
NEW YORK

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS RAWDON HASTINGS,

Earl of Moira, Baron Rawdon, &c. &c.

THAN WHOM

THE UNITED DOMINIONS CONTAIN NOT A TRUER PATRIOT;

WHO COULD DISTINGUISH HIMSELF BY HIS PEN,

NO LESS THAN BY HIS SWORD AND HIS ELOQUENCE,

THE

WORKS OF DEAN SWIFT

ARE,

WITH STRICT PROPRIETY,

INSCRIBED,

BY A MEMBER OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDON;

WHO HAS THE HONOUR TO SUBSCRIBE HIMSELF

HIS LORDSHIP'S

GREATLY OBLIGED,

AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

June, 1808. JOHN NICHOLS.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

ADVERTISEMENT, ... 9
General Preface, ... 13
The Life of Dr. Swift, by Mr. Sheridan, ... 57
Mr. Sheridan's Dedication, ... 59
Introduction, ... 61
Sect. I. 75
Sect. II. From the death of Sir William Temple, to the time of his introduction to Lord Oxford, ... 102
Sect. III. From the introduction to Mr. Harley, to the death of the Queen, ... 130
Sect. IV. 216
Sect. V. From his return to Ireland to his death, ... 254

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN presenting to the public a new edition of the Works of so well known and popular a writer as Dr. SWIFT, it would be equally unjust and invidious to withhold the preliminary observations of men high in esteem for critical sagacity, who on former occasions have not disdained to undertake the office of ushering the Dean's writings into the world. These, therefore, will be found collected into one point of view in the General Preface.

From a large accumulation of useful materials (to which the present Editor had contributed no inconsiderable share, and to which in 1779 he annexed a copious index to the Dean's works, and a chronological list of the epistolary correspondence) a regular edition in seventeen volumes was in 1784 compiled by the late Mr. Sheridan; to whom the former biographers were collectors of materials; and who prefixed an excellent life of the Dean, which no man was better qualified than himself to undertake. This renders it unnecessary to enter farther on that subject, than merely to observe, in the words of a late worthy friend,* that, "if we deduct somewhat from report, which is apt to add to the oddities of men of note, the greatest part of his conduct may be accounted for by the common operations of human nature—'*Choler*,' Lord Bacon observes, 'puts men on action; when it grows adust, it turns to melancholy.' In Swift, that humour seems to have been predominant; governed, however, even in his younger days, by a fund of good sense, and an

* Mr. Bowyer, the justly celebrated printer.

early experience of the world. He was thrown, luckily in the prime of life, into the family of a great personage, where he had the happiness of an interview with a monarch; from whence he had reasonable hopes of satisfying his towering ambition. But he found them followed by nothing but disappointment. In a course of years, honours seemed a second time to make their court to him. He came into favour with a prime minister under another reign, even when different principles prevailed from those which guided his former patron; a rare felicity! which, however, in the event, served only to convince him that he was banished to Ireland for life, and that all hopes were cut off of his rising, even there, any higher than the Deanery. What would one of his parts and wit do in such a situation, but drop mankind as much as possible, especially the higher class of it, which to a man of humour is naturally a restraint; where, at best, as he observes, the only difference is, to have two candles on the table instead of one? What, I say, would such a one do but cultivate an acquaintance with those who were disappointed like himself? what but write compliments on ladies, lampoons on men in power, sarcasms on human nature, trifle away life between whim and resentment, just as the bile arose or subsided? He had sense, and I believe religion, enough to keep him from vice; and, from a consciousness of his integrity, was less solicitous about the appearances of virtue, or even decency, which is often the counterfeit of it. The patriot principle, which he had imbibed in Queen Anne's reign, lurked at the bottom of his heart; which, as it was more active in those days than since, sometimes roused him to defend the church, and Ireland his asylum, against any encroachments.—View him now in his decline. Passions decay, and the lamp of life and reason grows dim. It is the fate of many, I

may say most geniuses, who have secluded themselves from the world, to lose their senses in their old age; especially those who have worn them out in thought and application. "Providence, perhaps, has therefore ordained, that the eyes, the inlets of knowledge, should be impaired, before the understanding, the repository of it, is decayed; that the defects of the former may protract the latter. Few of us are enough sensible how much the conjugal tie, and the several connexions which follow from it, how much even domestic troubles, when surmountable, are the physic of the soul; which, at the same time that they quicken the senses, preserve them too."

Not wishing to trouble the public with any more *last words* of Dr. Swift; the Editor contented himself with writing in the margin of his own books such particulars as occurred relative either to the Dean, or to his writings; a circumstance which now enables him to supply several matters which had escaped Mr. Sheridan's observation, and to elucidate some passages which were left unexplained. Careful, however, not very materially to interfere with the general arrangement of Mr. Sheridan's edition; what has been superadded, though attended with no small labour, it is useless to the general reader to point out. To the critical collator, it would be superfluous.

For the first admission into the Dean's Works of the articles marked in the several Tables of Contents with an asterisk, the present Editor is responsible; and the authority on which the miscellaneous tracts are adopted is in general given.

The Epistolary Correspondence sufficiently speaks for itself, and needs no apology. Some of these are now first printed from the originals; and "Letters written by

wise men," says an experienced writer, "are of all the works of men, in my judgment, the best."*

One advantage at least this edition possesses: a complete general Index, compiled by a Friend, whose kind attention has much facilitated the labours of the Editor.

For the critical notes the reader is almost wholly indebted to the late Mr. Sheridan. Those which are historical are selected from the former publications of Lord Orrery, Dr. Delany, Dr. Hawkesworth, Deane Swift, Esq. Bishop Warburton, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Warton, Mr. Bowyer, Dr. Birch, Mr. Faulkner, and the present Editor.

J. NICHOLS.

* Bacon, de Augment. Scientiarum.

GENERAL PREFACE.

THE advertisement having in some degree explained the nature of the present edition; this preface shall give the history of those which have preceded it.

Swift's earliest appearance before the public as a writer was in the separate Pindaric Odes which appear in the beginning of the tenth volume, and in the prefaces prefixed to the works of his friend and patron, Sir William Temple, 1692.

In 1701 he published a pamphlet of some consequence, in quarto, under the title of "The Contests and Dissentions," &c. which were followed, in 1704, by "The Tale of a Tub;" and by several occasional essays in prose and verse between that year and 1711; when, an attempt having been made to obtrude on the public a spurious collection of his Tracts, which had now become popular, he consented that his friend John Morphew should present to the public, but still without his name, a volume of "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse;" to which the following advertisement, undoubtedly with Dr. Swift's concurrence, was prefixed:

"To publish the writings of persons without their consent, is a practice, generally speaking, so unfair, and has so many times proved an unsufferable injury to the credit and reputation of the authors, as well as a shameful imposition on the public, either by a scandalous insertion of spurious pieces, or an imperfect and faulty edition of such

as are genuine; that though I have been master of such of the following pieces as have never yet been printed for several months, I could never, though much importuned, prevail on myself to publish them, fearing even a possibility of doing an injury in either of those two respects to the person who is generally known to be the author of some; and, with greater reason than I am at present at liberty to give, supposed to be the author of all the other pieces which make up this collection. But as my own unwillingness to do any thing which might prove an injury to the supposed author's reputation, to whom no man pays a juster esteem, or bears a greater respect than myself, has hitherto kept me from giving the world so agreeable an entertainment as it will receive from the following papers; so the sense I had that he would really now suffer a much greater in both instances from other hands, was the occasion of my determining to do it at present: since some of the following pieces have lately appeared in print from very imperfect and uncorrect copies. Nor was the abuse like to stop here; for these, with all the defects and imperfections they came out under, met with so much applause, and so universal a good reception from all men of wit and taste, as to prompt the booksellers, who had heard that other of these tracts were in manuscript in some gentlemen's hands, to seek by any means to procure them, which should they compass, they would without question publish in a manner as little to the author's credit and reputation, as they have already done those few which unfortunately have fallen into their possession. This being a known fact, I hope will be sufficient to make this publication, though without the author's consent or knowledge, very consistent with that respect I sincerely bear him; who, if it should not appear to be perfectly without fault, can with little justice complain of the wrong he

receives by it, since it has prevented his suffering a much greater, no more than a man who is pushed down out of the way of a bullet, can with reason take as an affront, either the blow he falls by, or the dirt he rises with.

"But indeed I have very little uneasiness upon me for fear of any injury the author's credit and reputation may receive from any imperfection or uncorrectness in these following tracts; since the persons from whom I had them, and in whose hands I have reason to believe the author left them, when his affairs called him out of this kingdom, are of so much worth themselves, and have so great a regard for the author, that I am confident they would neither do nor suffer any thing that might turn to his disadvantage. I must confess I am upon another account under some concern, which is, lest some of the following papers are such as the author perhaps would rather should not have been published at all; in which case, I should look upon myself highly obliged to ask his pardon: but even on this supposition, as there is no person named, the supposed author is at liberty to disown as much as he thinks fit of what is here published, and so can be chargeable with no more of it than he pleases to take upon himself.

"From this apology I have been making, the reader may in part be satisfied how these papers came into my hands; and to give him a more particular information herein will prove little to his use, though perhaps it might somewhat gratify his curiosity, which I shall think not material any farther to do, than by assuring him, that I am not only myself sufficiently convinced that all the tracts in the following collection, excepting two, before both of which I have in the book expressed my doubtfulness, were wrote by the same hand; but several judicious persons who are well acquainted with the supposed author's writings, and not altogether strangers to his con-

versation, have agreed with me herein, not only for the reasons I have before hinted at, but upon this account also, that there are in every one of these pieces some particular beauties that discover this author's vein, who excels too much not to be distinguished, since in all his writings such a surprising mixture of wit and learning, true humour and good sense, does every where appear, as sets him almost as far out of the reach of imitation, as it does beyond the power of censure.

"The reception that these pieces will meet with from the public, and the satisfaction they will give to all men of wit and taste, will soon decide it, whether there be any reason for the reader to suspect an imposition, or the author to apprehend an injury; the former, I am fully satisfied, will never be, and the latter I am sure I never intended: in confidence of which, should the author, when he sees these tracts appear, take some offence, and know where to place his resentment, I will be so free as to own, I could without much uneasiness sit down under some degree of it, since it would be no hard task to bear some displeasure from a single person, for that for which one is sure to receive the thanks of every body else."

The contents of this volume of genuine and acknowledged Miscellanies shall here be given:

1. "A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome," 1701; 2. "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man," 1708; 3. "Argument to prove that the abolishing of Christianity," &c. 1708; 4. "A Project for Advancement of Religion," 1709; 5. "Meditation on a Broomstick," 1704; 6. "Various Thoughts, moral and diverting," 1706; 7. "Critical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind," 1707; 8. "Predictions for the year 1708;" 9. "Account of Partridge's Death," 1708; 10.

"Vindication of Bickerstaff," 1709; 11. "A famous Prediction of Merlin," 1709; 12. "Letter on the Sacramental Test," 1708. The Poems were, "Verses in a Lady's Ivory Table-book;" "Frances Harris's Petition;" "Ballad on Lady Betty Berkeley's adding a stanza to a former Ballad;" "Van's House;" "The Salamander;" "Baucis and Philemon;" "To Biddy Floyd;" "The History of Van's House;" "Grub-street Elegy on Partridge;" "Apollo outwitted;" "Description of the Morning;" "A City Shower;" and "The Virtues of Sid Hamet's Rod."

In 1712, Swift deviated from his accustomed habit, by affixing his name to a favourite project, in a "Letter to the Lord Treasurer;" and in 1714 he had prepared for the press a "History of the four last years of the Queen;" on which he had bestowed much attention, but which the decease of his Royal Mistress threw wholly into the shade, nor, after that period, was he at all solicitous for acquiring reputation as an author.

The "Drapier's Letters" were presented singly to the public as they came out. The copy of "Gulliver's Travels," which in 1726 was transmitted to the press through the medium of Mr. Pope, is thus alluded to by the Dean, in a letter to Mr. Pulteney, May 12, 1735: "I never got a farthing by any thing I writ, except once about eight years ago, and that by Mr. Pope's prudent management for me." The sum which was received for Gulliver is stated to have been 300*l.*; and on the publication of three volumes of their joint Miscellanies, which were left wholly to the disposal of Mr. Pope, the profit was 150*l.**

* These particulars were communicated in 1749 to Dr. Birch by Mr. Faulkner; who added, that "Dr. Swift had long conceived a mean opinion of Mr. Pope, on account of his jealous, peevish, avaricious temper."

In July, 1732, the Dean gave to Mrs. Pilkington the following loose assignment, the original of which is in the hands of the present editor:

"Whereas several scattered papers, in prose and verse, for three or four years last past, were printed in Dublin, by Mr. George Faulkner, some of which were sent in manuscript to Mr. William Bowyer, of London, printer; which pieces are supposed to be written by me, and are now, by the means of the Reverend Matthew Pilkington, who delivered or sent them to the said Faulkner and Bowyer, become the property of the said Faulkner and Bowyer: I do here, without specifying the said papers, give up all manner of right I may be thought to have in the said papers, to Mr. Matthew Pilkington aforesaid, who informs me that he intends to give up the said right to Mr. Bowyer aforesaid.

Witness my hand, July 22, 1732.

JONATH. SWIFT.

From the Deanery House in Dublin, the day and year above written."

"Pursuant to an assignment, dated the 22d day of July, 1732, granted to me by the Rev. Doctor Swift, of several pieces in prose and verse, supposed to be written by him, which pieces were printed by Mr. Faulkner in Dublin, and Mr. Bowyer in London, most of which pieces were conveyed to them by me; I do hereby give up all manner of right which is conveyed to me by the said assignment to Mr. William Bowyer, of London, printer, as empowered by the Rev. Dr. Swift aforesaid.

In witness whereof, I have set my hand, this 5th day of October, 1732.

MATT. PILKINGTON."

Four volumes of the Dean's Miscellanies were published by Mr. Faulkner in 1734; and speedily reprinted in

England. These were followed in both kingdoms by several other single volumes. But the earliest regular edition was in twelve volumes, 8vo. 1755 (reprinted in 1767) under the respectable name of the late Dr. JOHN HAWKESWORTH, who thus very properly introduced them:

"The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift were written and published at very distant periods of his life, and had passed through many editions before they were collected into volumes, or distinguished from the productions of contemporary wits, with whom he was known to associate.

"The Tale of a Tub, the Battle of the Books, and the Fragment, were first published together in 1704; and the Apology, and the notes from Wotton, were added in 1710; this edition the Dean revised a short time before his understanding was impaired, and his corrections* will be found in this impression.

"Gulliver's Travels were first printed in the year 1726, with some alterations which had been made by the person through whose hands they were conveyed to the press; but the original passages were restored to the subsequent editions.

"Many other pieces, both in prose and verse, which had been written between the years 1691 and 1727, were then collected and published by the Dean, in conjunction with Mr. Pope, Dr. Arbuthnot, and Mr. Gay, under the title of *Miscellanies*.† Of all these pieces, though they were intended to go down to posterity together,‡ the Dean was not the author, as appeared by the title pages:

* From a corrected copy then in the hands of the late Deane Swift, Esq.

† See the joint Preface of Pope and Swift in vol. xxiii.

‡ "At all adventures, yours and my name shall stand linked friends to posterity, both in verse and prose."

Pope to Swift, March 23, 1727-8.

but they continued undistinguished till 1742; and then Mr. Pope, having new-classed them, ascribed each performance among the prose to its particular author in a table of contents; but of the verses he distinguished only the Dean's, by marking the rest with an asterisk.

"In the year 1735, the pieces of which the Dean was the author were selected from the Miscellany, and, with Gulliver's Travels, the Drapier's Letters, and some other pieces which were written upon particular occasions in Ireland, were published by Mr. George Faulkner, at Dublin, in four volumes. To these he afterward added a fifth and a sixth, containing the Examiners, Polite Conversation, and some other tracts, which were soon followed by a seventh volume of letters, and an eighth of posthumous pieces.

"In this collection, although printed in Ireland, the tracts relating to that country, and in particular the Drapier's Letters, are thrown together in great confusion; and the Tale of a Tub, the Battle of the Books, and the Fragment, are not included.

"In the edition which is now offered to the public,* the Tale of a Tub, of which the Dean's corrections sufficiently prove him to have been the author, the Battle of the Books and the Fragment, make the first volume; the second is Gulliver's Travels; the miscellanies will be found in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth; and the contents of the other volumes are divided into two classes, as relating to England or Ireland. As to the arrangement of particular pieces in each class, there were only three things that seemed to deserve attention, or that could direct the choice; that the verse and prose should be kept separate; that the posthumous and doubt-

* This was Dr. Hawkesworth's arrangement: Mr. Sheridan's will be described hereafter.

ful pieces should not be mingled with those which the Dean is known to have published himself; and that those tracts which are parts of a regular series, and illustrate each other, should be ranged in succession, without the intervention of other matter: such are the Drapier's Letters, and some other papers published upon the same occasion, which have not only in the Irish edition, but in every other, been so mixed as to misrepresent some facts and obscure others: such also are the tracts on the Sacramental Test, which are now first put together in regular order, as they should always be read by those who would see their whole strength and propriety.

"As to the pieces which have no connexion with each other, some have thought that the serious and the comic should have been put in separate classes; but this is not the method which was taken by the Dean himself, or by Mr. Pope, when they published the Miscellany, in which the transition

'From grave to gay, from lively to severe,'

appears frequently to be the effect rather of choice than accident.* However, as the reader will have the whole in his possession, he may pursue either the grave or the gay with very little trouble, and without losing any pleasure or intelligence which he would have gained from a different arrangement.

"Among the miscellanies is the history of John Bull, a political allegory, which is now farther opened by a short narrative of the facts upon which it is founded, whether suppositious or true, at the foot of the page.

"The notes which have been published with former

* "Our Miscellany is now quite printed. I am prodigiously pleased with this joint volume, in which methinks we look like friends side by side, *serious* and *merry* by turns—diverting others just as we diverted ourselves." *Pope to Swift, March* 8, 1726-7.

editions have for the most part been retained, because they were supposed to have been written, if not by the Dean, yet by some friend who knew his particular view in the passage they were intended to illustrate, or the truth of the fact which they asserted.

"The notes which have been added to this edition contain, among other things, a history of the author's works, which would have made a considerable part of his life; but, as the occasion on which particular pieces were written, and the events which they produced, could not be related in a series, without frequent references and quotations, it was thought more eligible to put them together; in the text innumerable passages have been restored, which were evidently corrupt in every other edition, whether printed in England or Ireland.

"Among the notes will be found some remarks on those of another writer; for which no apology can be thought necessary, if it be considered that the same act is justice if the subject is a criminal, which would have been murder if executed on the innocent.

"Lord Orrery has been so far from acting upon the principle on which Mr. Pope framed this petition in his Universal Prayer,

> "Teach me————
> "To *hide* the faults I *see*,"

that, where he has not *found* the appearance of a fault, he has laboured hard to *make* one.

"Lord Orrery has also supposed the Dean himself to have been the editor of at least six volumes of the Irish edition of his works; but the contrary will incontestably appear upon a comparison of that edition with this, as well by those passages which were altered under colour of correction, as by those in which accidental imperfections were suffered to remain.

"The editor of the Irish edition has also taken into his collection several spurious pieces in verse, which the Dean zealously disavowed, and which therefore he would certainly have excluded from any collection printed under his inspection and with his consent. But there is evidence of another kind to prove that the Dean never revised any edition of his works for Faulkner to print; and that on the contrary he was unwilling that Faulkner should print them at all. Faulkner, in an advertisement published Oct. 15, 1754, calls himself the editor as well as publisher of the Dublin edition; and the Dean has often renounced the undertaking in express terms. In his letter to Mr. Pope, dated May 1, 1733, he says, that when the printer applied to him for leave to print his works in Ireland, he told him he would give *no* leave; and when he printed them without, he declared it was *much to his discontent;* the same sentiment is also more strongly expressed in a letter now in the hands of the publisher,* which was written by the Dean to the late Mr. Benjamin Motte, his bookseller in London."

In 1762, the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes were added by the late Mr. Bowyer; whose advertisement is worth preserving:

"The pleasure Dean Swift's Works have already afforded will be a sufficient apology for communicating to the reader, though somewhat out of season, these additional volumes; who will be less displeased that they have been so long suppressed, than thankful that they are now at last published. We have no occasion to apologize for the pieces themselves; for, as they have all the internal marks of genuineness, so, by their farther opening the author's private correspondence, they display the goodness of his heart, no less than the

* See this letter, dated Nov. 11, 1735, in vol. xix.

never-ceasing sallies of his wit. His answer to "The Rights of the Christian Church" is a remarkable instance of both, which, though unfinished, and but the slight prolusions of his strength, show how sincere, how able a champion he was of religion and the church. So soon as these were printed in Dublin, in a new edition of the Dean's works, it was a justice due to them to select them thence, to complete the London edition. Like the author, though they owe their birth to Ireland, they will feel their maturity in England;* and each nation will contend which shall receive them with greater ardour.

"We have added, in the last volume, an Index to all the Works; wherein we have ranged the *bons mots* scattered through them under the article SWIFTIANA, by which their brightness is collected, as it were, into a focus, and they are placed in such open day, that they are secured, for the future, from the petty larceny of meaner wits."

The fifteenth and sixteenth volumes were published in 1765, under the immediate direction of his kinsman, DEANE SWIFT, Esq. with this Preface:

"It may appear somewhat strange to the world, and especially to men of taste and learning, that so many poetical, historical, and other miscellaneous productions of Dr. Swift should have lain dormant such a number of years, after the decease of an author so universally admired in all nations of the globe, which have any share of politeness. However, not to be over and above particular on this occasion; were it of any consequence to relate by what extraordinary means these several papers were rescued from the injuries of time and accidents; or, to insist upon some other circumstances, which, at present, we

* See this thought poetically expressed, in an Epigram near the end of the Eleventh Volume.

choose to pass over in silence; it would, perhaps, seem rather more astonishing, that ever indeed they should have had the good fortune to make their appearance at all. It may suffice to observe, that, in order to gratify the curiosity of the public, we shall ascertain these writings to be genuine; although to every man of taste and judgment they carry their own marks of authenticity. And therefore, as all the original manuscripts, not to mention two or three poems taken from the public prints, are in the Doctor's own hand; or, transcribed by his amanuensis, have the sanction of his indorsement; some few copies, for which indeed we have the honour to be obliged to our friends, only excepted; we shall deposite them in the British Museum, provided the Governors will please to receive them into their collection."

Three volumes of the Dean's Epistolary Correspondence were thus incribed in 1766:

"To the Right Honourable Richard Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; these letters of persons eminent for their rank and genius are inscribed, as a tribute of esteem and veneration, due to a character so highly distinguished for private and public virtue; for the display of amiable qualities as a man, and the exertion of great abilities as a patriot, by his lordship's most obedient humble servant, THOMAS WILKES."

The following Preface to these volumes was written by Dr. Hawkesworth:

"The letters here offered to the public were a present from the late Dr. Swift to Dr. Lyon, a clegyman of Ireland, for whom he had a great regard; they were obtained of Dr. Lyon by Mr. Thomas Wilkes, of Dublin, and of Mr. Wilkes by the booksellers for whom they are published.

"As many of them mention persons who have been long dead, and allude to incidents not now generally known, they would have been too obscure to afford general entertainment or information, if they had not been elucidated by notes.

"This necessary elucidation I have endeavoured to supply at the request of the proprietors, from such knowledge of the Dean's connexions and writings as I was able to acquire, when I revised twelve volumes of his works, which were published about ten years ago, with notes of the same kind; and some account of his life.

"Many passages, however, occurred, which, though they wanted explanation, I could not explain: these I made the subject of queries; which being shown to the late reverend Dr. Birch, he furnished answers to most of them, which are distinguished from the other notes by inverted commas. The favour cost him some trouble; but he conferred it with that readiness and pleasure, which has made his character amiable upon many occasions of much greater importance.

"It has been thought best to print all the letters in order of time, without regarding by whom they are written; for if all the letters of each person had been classed together, the pleasure of the reader would have been greatly lessened, by passing again and again through the same series, as often as he came to a new collection; whereas the series is now preserved regular and unbroken through the whole correspondence. Those which, being of uncertain date, could not be brought into this series, are printed together in an appendix.

"Three letters from the Dean to the late earl of Bath, general Pulteney was pleased to communicate to the editor, by the favour of the reverend Dr. Douglas; two of these will be found in the appendix, the other had been already printed from a copy in the Dean's hand-writing.

In the appendix will also be found some letters between the Dean and Mrs. Esther Vanhomrigh, with a few others, which did not come to the hands of the proprietors till the rest of the work was printed.

"Some letters of a private nature, and some that relate to persons who are still living, have been suppressed; but the number is very small. Some are inserted that persons still living have written; but they are such as would reflect no dishonour upon the highest character.

"For the publication of letters, which certainly were not written for the public, I shall however make no apology in my own name, because the publication of them is not my own act, nor at my own option; but the act of those to whom they had been sold for that purpose, before I knew they were in being.

"It may, however, be presumed, that though the publication of letters has been censured by some, yet that it is not condemned by the general voice, since a numerous subscription, in which are many respectable names, has been lately obtained, for printing other parts of the Dean's epistolary correspondence, by a relation who professes the utmost veneration for his memory; and a noble lord* has permitted Mr. Wilkes to place this under his protection.

"A recommendation of these volumes is yet less necessary than an apology; the letters are indisputably genuine; the originals, in the hand-writing of the parties, or copies indorsed by the Dean, being deposited in the British Museum; except of those in the appendix, mentioned to have come to the proprietors' hands after the rest was printed, the originals of which are in the hands of a gentleman of great eminence in the law in Ireland.

"They are all written by persons eminent for their abilities, many of whom were also eminent for their rank; the greater part are the genuine effusions of the heart, in

* Richard Earl Temple.

the full confidence of the most intimate friendship, without reserve, and without disguise. Such in particular are the letters between the Dean and Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley, lord Bolingbroke, and Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Gay.

"They relate many particulars, that would not otherwise have been known, relative to some of the most interesting events that have happened in this century; they abound also with strains of humour, turns of wit, and refined sentiment: they are all strongly characteristic, and enable the reader 'to catch the manners living as they rise.' Those from the Dean to Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley are part of the journal mentioned in his life; and from them alone a better notion may be formed of his manner and character, than from all that has been written about him.

"But this collection must not be considered as affording only entertainment to the idle, or speculative knowledge to the curious; it most forcibly impresses a sense of the vanity and brevity of life, which the moralist and the divine have always thought an important purpose, but which mere declamation can seldom attain.

"In a series of familiar letters between the same friends for thirty years, their whole life, as it were, passes in review before us; we live with them, we hear them talk, we mark the vigour of life, the ardour of expectation, the hurry of business, the jollity of their social meetings, and the sport of their fancy in the sweet intervals of leisure and retirement; we see the scene gradually change; hope and expectation are at an end; they regret pleasures that are past, and friends that are dead; they complain of disappointment and infirmity; they are conscious that the sands of life which remain are few; and while we hear them regret the approach of the last, it falls, and we lose them in the grave. Such as they were, we feel ourselves

to be; we are conscious to sentiments, connexions, and situations like theirs; we find ourselves in the same path, urged forward by the same necessity, and the parallel in what has been is carried on with such force to what shall be, that the future almost becomes present, and we wonder at the new power of those truths, of which we never doubted the reality and importance.

"These letters will therefore contribute to whatever good may be hoped from a just estimate of life; and for that reason, if for no other, are by no means unworthy the attention of the public."

Three similar volumes succeeded in 1767, with the following epistle from DEANE SWIFT, Esq.

TO MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

"SIR, *Worcester, July* 25, 1767.

"ALTHOUGH I gave you my reasons some time ago, for not troubling either the public or myself with any Preface to these volumes of Dr. Swift's writings, you still press for some kind of Advertisement, by way of ushering them into the world. But what occasion is there for such formality? If the letters now printed merit general regard, they will have a chance to live as long as the rest of his epistles; if they deserve contempt, their days will be of short continuance. And as for the reigns of William Rufus, Henry the First, and Stephen; it is supposed they will appear to be such a model of English history, as will make all men of taste, and especially foreigners, regret that he pursued his plan no farther.

"I can tell you a secret, which I was not apprised of myself until about a year ago, and which perhaps may give you pleasure. There are many of the Doctor's writings, long since printed (don't be surprised, for I am supported in what I say by the authority of manuscripts now in my own study) which are not to be met with in any collection of his works: so indifferent he was, and

careless, whether they lived or died. Yet even these, by one means or other, as I know their titles, and conjecture where they can be found, I hope I shall be able to recover, and send down to posterity.

"To the best of my recollection, when I talked to you last November of a preface to these volumes, I had some thoughts of opening a scene, which would have exposed to view several things which are still involved in darkness. But, as I have neither youth, leisure, nor inclination, to engage in altercations of any sort, I think it is better to postpone what I have principally to say relating to these matters, and particularly to the subject of Dr. Swift's writings, until a more convenient and proper season; when perhaps it would be thought early enough to inform the curious, by what a strange variety of accidents the Doctor's works have happened to make their appearance in so disorderly, uncouth, and miserable a condition (to say nothing of a thousand mistakes and blunders committed by several editors, both in England and Ireland) as they do at present.

"I am, Sir, wishing you all success in your publication, your most sincere and very humble servant,

DEANE SWIFT."

In this state was the collection, when, in the latter end of 1774, the present Editor, having occasion to peruse with attention the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes, was induced to read, in a regular series, the whole of Dr. Swift's Correspondence. In this pursuit he could not but be astonished to perceive that many pieces, which the Dean acknowledges as his own, were not to be found in the most expensive editions of his works. In truth, from the volumes having been published at different periods, the smaller editions may be said to have been nearly complete, while those in which exactness might well be looked for have remained much more defective.

To remedy that inconvenience, he published in 1775 the seventeenth volume; consisting of materials, which, if not entirely new to the world, were such in the editions just mentioned. From the preface to that volume a short extract shall be given:

"The several pieces now offered to the public are of too miscellaneous a nature to need any formal apology. Many of them are admirable; some of them indifferent; and some, perhaps, rather below mediocrity. Yet there are few readers who would not wish (as Swift has said of Sir William Temple) 'to see the first draught of any thing from this author's hand.'* And the present editor hopes to escape the imputation of reviving 'libels born to die,' if he expresses a wish that the less valuable parts of the whole collection were removed from the places they now possess, and (by being classed in a separate volume) consigned to whatever fate their respective degrees of merit may deserve."

One very material part of the last mentioned volume consisted of Swift's "History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne;" which, having been adopted by Mr. Sheridan, will be found in the seventh volume of this collection, introduced with some prefatory remarks by the present editor.

The following note, written by bishop Warburton, was printed with the letters of Dr. Swift, Mr. Pope, and others, concerning this history:

"These papers some years after were brought *finished* by the Dean into England, with an intention to publish them. But a friend on whose judgment he relied dissuaded him from that design. He told the Dean, there were several facts he knew to be false, and that the whole was so much in the spirit of party-writing, that though it

* See vol. iii.

might have made a seasonable pamphlet in the time of their administration, it was a dishonour to just history. The Dean would do nothing against his friend's judgment; yet it extremely chagrined him: and he told a common friend, that since ——— did not approve the history, he would cast it into the fire, though it was the best work he had ever written. However, it did not undergo this fate, and is said to be yet in being." So says the right reverend Annotator. And yet it is certain, that a friend of Dr. Swift's took occasion (in some conversation with lord Bolingbroke at Battersea in 1750) to ask his lordship about the facts mentioned in the said work, alleging, that a great part of the materials was furnished from his lordship's papers, when secretary of state; who replied, "that indeed he did not recollect any thing he might object to, as concerning the matters of fact, but one, which was about the *suspension of arms* being mentioned there as a transaction of the queen's ministry; whereas, said he, I do assure you, I was utterly unacquainted with that measure, having advised against it, until it was fully agreed upon in concert with Dr. Swift's hero (meaning lord Oxford) nor had I any other hand in that matter more than to ask the queen in council, after the written order for suspending all military operations was put into my hands, *Madam, is it your majesty's pleasure that this order be signed?*" In a letter to Mr. Pope, Jan. 10, 1721, the Dean says, "I had indeed written some memorials of the four last years of the queen's reign, with some other informations which I received, as necessary materials to qualify me for doing something in a place then designed me; but, as it was at the disposal of a person who had not the smallest share of steadiness or sincerity, I disdained to accept it." The office here alluded to was in the gift of Henry Grey, duke of Kent."

Mrs. Whiteway, in a letter to Mr. Pope, May 16, 1740, says:

"A few years ago he burnt most of his writings unprinted, except *a few loose papers* which are in my possession, and which I promise you (if I outlive him) shall never be made public without your approbation. There is one treatise in his own keeping, called *Advice to Servants*, very unfinished and incorrect; yet what is done of it has so much humour, that it may appear as a posthumous work. The History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne's Reign I suppose you have seen with Dr. King, to whom he sent it some time ago; and, if I am rightly informed, is *the only piece of his* (except Gulliver) which he *ever proposed making money by*, and was given to Dr. King with that design."

Encouraged by the favourable attention of the public, the twenty-fourth volume* was brought forward in 1776, with this apology:

"Additions to the works of an author already esteemed too voluminous, it is acknowledged, should be made with caution. The editor, however, with confidence relies on the merit as well as authenticity of his materials; and, if any particular article which has been admitted should appear liable to objection, will rest his appeal on the real motive for entering on a task not unattended with labour —a desire of preserving those scattered materials without which the works of Swift can never be completed; an event the world has long had reason to expect from the person in every respect best qualified for such an undertaking. 'Many of the Doctor's writings' (says Mr. Deane Swift, the worthy guardian of his kinsman's fame,) 'long since printed, are not to be met with in any collec-

* The six volumes of Letters were at that time numbered XVIII—XXIII.

tion of his works.* The pieces now presented to the reader are exactly under this predicament; and some of them, it is presumed, are part of what Mr. Swift alludes to.

"In the state in which the Dean's writings now stand, the editor flatters himself, he shall not be censured for what is added. He does not pretend to say, that the whole ought to be adopted in a regular edition: yet, whenever such a work shall be actually undertaken, he doubts not but the present volume will be considered as an interesting part of it,† and at the same time will be a proper appendage to all former editions; being strictly, what it professes to be, a Collection of Miscellanies by Dr. Swift and his most intimate friends.

"The first part consists of several scarce tracts, originally published in that memorable period, the four last years of the queen: some of which are avowedly the Dean's, though hitherto they have never appeared under his name; and others are ascribed to him, on *his own* authority, either as having written a part of them, or at least as having suggested the hints.

"As the sound politician and indefatigable champion of Ireland, our author already stands unrivalled. But, when we consider him as the *confidential friend* of an able ministry involved in perpetual *disputes*,‡ in vain do we look among his works for the writings which exalted him to such consequence. The *Examiners* excepted, they are thinly scattered through the collection, and far inferior in number to what might naturally be expected

* See before, p. 29.

† This was the case in Mr. Sheridan's edition of 1784.

‡ "My letters will at least be *a good history*, to show you the steps of this change," says Dr. Swift to Stella, on an interesting event, Dec. 9, 1711—And again, "My letters would be *good memoirs*, if I durst venture to say a thousand things that pass." *March* 14, 1712-13.

from the pen of so ready a writer. Like Virgil's mariners,

'*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto!*'

That he was not idle in that busy period, a slight perusal of the Journal to Stella will demonstrate; and what is here collected may be considered as a specimen of his labours.

"It is much to be lamented indeed that he did not follow the advice given him in the year 1733: 'I have long had it at heart,' says his friend Mr. Ford, 'to see your works collected, and published with care. It is become absolutely necessary, since that jumble with Pope, &c. in three volumes, which put me in a rage whenever I meet with them. I know no reason why, at this distance of time, the *Examiners*, and *other political papers* written in the queen's reign, might not be inserted. I doubt you have been too negligent in keeping copies; but *I have them bound up, and most of them single besides.** I lent Mr. Corbet † that paper to correct his Gulliver by; and it was from that I mended my own. There is every single alteration from the original copy; and the printed book abounds with all those errors which should be avoided in the new edition."

"Had Dr. Swift attended to this advice, the present publication would undoubtedly have been superseded; or, could the editor have fortunately obtained the collection so diligently made by Mr. Ford, it would have been a collateral proof of authenticity, and have probably increased the number of the Dean's political pamphlets. Those which are now printed are all which the editor has met with; and each of them is separately left

* Many others are here preserved.

† Dr. Swift's successor as Dean of St. Patrick's

to vouch for its own excellence, and for the authority on which it has been admitted into this volume.

"The lighter prose parts of the collection have been selected by various accidents, from different sources. For a few of them, the editor readily acknowledges himself indebted to Mr. Faulkner; to whose diligence the reader is also obliged for the additional letters; and for some entertaining anecdotes, particularly in matters relative to Ireland.

"Many of the poetical essays are the Dean's, and all of them such as are immediately connected with his writings. Among these, the productions of Dr. Delany are particularly distinguished.

"Facts and circumstances of a temporary nature are so soon forgotten, that little apology seems necessary for the number and minuteness of the notes. It has ever been the editor's opinion, that every book should include an explanation of the obscure and less known passages in it, without obliging the reader to refer to other sources of information. When it is considered that these helps are designed for the use of such as are not general readers, it is presumed those who are more informed will pardon the insertion of some circumstances, which to them may appear superfluous."

To these, in 1779, was added the twenty-fifth volume; from the preface to which, a few lines shall be taken:

"After what the editor of this volume has prefixed to those he before introduced to the press, it is needless to enlarge on the motives, or even on the contents of the present publication. The numerous corrections in the 'Journal to Stella' are too material to pass totally unnoticed. That part of it which was published by Dr. Hawkesworth, appearing abundantly *more polished* than the other given to the world by Mr. Deane Swift; it was

natural to imagine that some alteration had been made. On examining, I find that in the originals, now in the British Museum, beside a few corrections which appear to have been made by the Dean at the time of writing them, there are some *obliterations*, and many whole sentences omitted. It is true, they relate principally to private matters. But how far there is a propriety in making such corrections, the reader will best determine, on a perusal of the passages here restored; many of which he will plainly perceive to have arisen from the carelessness of a transcriber, who frequently omitted what he could not read.

"The characters extracted from the Dean's MS. 'Notes on Jacky,'* are sufficiently authenticated; and the 'Biographical Anecdotes'† and 'Epistolary Correspondence' cannot fail of being acceptable.

"It may perhaps be objected against some of the articles which will be found throughout Swift's works, that they are too trifling, and were never intended by the author for the eye of the public. But it was thought it would be an agreeable entertainment to the curious, to see how oddly a man of his great wit and humour could now and then descend to amuse himself with his particular friends. 'His bagatelles,' Lord Chesterfield tells us, 'are much more valuable than other people's;' an observation which will fully justify the publication of his 'Remarks on Dr. Gibbs's Psalms.'‡

"The editor returns thanks to those respectable gentlemen who have so liberally honoured him with their communications; and particularly to the friend§ whose

* See these in vol. vi.

† These formed a valuable article at the time; but are now in a great measure superseded by Mr. Sheridan's life of the Dean.

‡ See these in vol. xxiv.

§ Isaac Reed, Esq. of Staple Inn.

assistance has been of the most singular use to him in these researches.

"The titles of such pieces as are known to have been written by the Dean, not yet recovered, shall here be given:

1. His Letter to the Bishop of Killaloe. 'Tooke is going on with my Miscellany. I'd give a penny the letter to the Bishop of Killaloe was in it; it would do him honour: Could not you contrive to say you hear they were printing my *things* together; and that you wish the bookseller had that letter among the rest? but don't say any thing of it as from me. I forgot whether it was good or no; but only having heard it much commended, perhaps it may deserve it.'* If this was ever printed, it must have been *in* or *before* the year 1708.

2. A tract "On Reading, and the Corruption of Taste in Writing." This tract was written by Swift, and sent to Sir Andrew Fountaine. It never was printed, or is not ascribed to the true author; but is probaly alluded to in the Journal to Stella, Nov. 4. 1710. 'I writ a pamphlet when I was last in London, that you and a thousand have seen, and never guessed it to be mine.' Oct. 12, he says, 'they have fixed about fifty things on me since I came; I have printed but *three*.' Q. What were they?

3. "A Ballad (full of puns) on the Westminster Election, 1710." In the Journal to Stella, Oct. 17, 1710, he says, 'This morning Delaval came to see me, and we went together to Kneller's, who was not in town. In the way we met the electors for parliament-men: and the rabble came about our coach, crying, 'A Colt, a Stanhope,' &c. We were afraid of a dead cat, or our glasses broken, and so were always of their side.' Journal to

* Journal to Stella, Oct. 1710.

Stella, Oct. 5, 1710.—'There is a Ballad full of Puns on the Westminster Election, that cost me half an hour: it runs, though it be good for nothing.' Ibid.

4. "Dunkirk still in the hands of the French, being a plain and true Discovery of a most notorious Falsehood, invented by Jacobites and Tories, that the town of Dunkirk was lately delivered to the English. Price 1d." Advertised July 17.—This and the *three* following are certainly part of the *seven penny papers* Swift mentions to Stella, Aug. 7, 1712.

5. "A Hue and Cry after Dismal; being a full and true Account how a whig lord was taken at Dunkirk in the Habit of a Chimney Sweeper, and carried before General Hill. Price 1d."

6. "It's out at last, or French Correspondence clear as the Sun. Price 1d."

7. "A Dialogue upon Dunkirk, between a Whig and a Tory, on Sunday Morning the 6th Instant. Price 1d."

8. What means "guessing is mine," in the journal to Stella, Nov. 7, 1710? and "Goodman Peasley and Isaac," Feb. 9, 1710-11?

9. When the Earl of Oxford was under prosecution, Swift saw a pamphlet called 'The Conduct of Lord Treasurer impartially considered;' upon which he wrote observations; but whether he published them, does not appear.

10. He wrote in 1725 more papers against Wood than are printed.

11. "MS. Scheme to Mr. Pulteny, about proper Measures to be followed by the Court."

12. It appears by his letter to Mr. Windar, in vol. XV. dated Jan. 13, 1698, that several of his very early sermons had been transcribed by that gentleman.

13. The Rev. Walter Harte, author of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, &c. informed some of his friends, that he had read *eleven* sermons of the Dean's which he had lent to Mr. Pope, who assured Mr. Harte, they were the best he ever had read; and Mr. Harte has said the same, who was very circumstantial in telling, 'they were not only stitched together, but in a black leather case; that they were among Mr. Pope's papers, when he died; and that he believed that Dr. Warburton, who had the revisal and publication of all Pope's writings after his death, might have seen them.

14. An original letter of the Dean's (unprinted) is in the possession of Lord Dartrey*. Mr. Yorke of Erthig† has another, containing a criticism on Pope's Homer. Three more to Miss Waryng of Belfast‡, to whom Swift seriously paid his addresses, are existing.

In the same year, 1779, the poetry of Dr. Swift, as arranged by the present editor in the collection then published under the superintendence of Dr. Johnson was thus noticed.

"The poetical writings of Swift have been long obscured by the mode in which they are scattered through his numerous writings. They are now collected in a regular point of view, and arranged in a chronological series. This is one of the advantages for which the public are indebted to the late excellent *Supplement* to Dean Swift's Works. It would be endless to point out the many useful additions in these volumes; they must be seen, to show their value§."

The Dedication and Preface of Mr Sheridan to the edition of 1784 shall next be given:

* See the seventeenth volume of this collection, under 1726.
† From the information of a gentleman of distinction.
‡ Two letters to this lady are already in this collection.
§ The late Rev. John Duncombe in Gent. Mag. XLIX. 552.

"To Henry Grattan, Esq. Founder of the Liberties of Ireland, this new Edition of the Works of his great Precursor, the immortal Drapier! in whose footsteps he has trodden, and whose ideas realized, is respectfully inscribed by his grateful countryman, (now made proud of the name of Irishman)—THE EDITOR.

Never did any writer show less solicitude about the fate of his Works than Swift. From the time they were sent into the world, he seems not to have had any farther concern about them. As soon as his eaglets were fledged,

> He whistled them off, and let them down the wind,
> To prey at fortune. SHAKSPEARE.

And ever after he was careless about their fate, as birds are with regard to their dispersed broods.

For a long time his several productions remained in a detached state, without the name of any author; nor could the general admiration they excited, prevail on him to reveal himself, or claim them as his own. In this respect, he seems to have been actuated by the same principle which governed his whole conduct in life, that of the most perfect disinterestedness; and as he had laid it down for a maxim, from the beginning, that he never would receive any pecuniary gratification for his writings, so he used his best endeavours to avoid as much as possible, even the reward of fame. Or if, in process of time, the author of works bearing the stamp of such uncommon genius should be discovered, it would be allowed that he courted not fame, but fame followed him. The improvement of mankind being the chief object he had in view in all his publications, he thought the extraordinary talent bestowed on him for this purpose, with so liberal a hand, ought to be as liberally employed, without any mean mixture of selfish motives.

In Swift's letter to Mr. Pulteny, dated May 12, 1735 we have a confirmation of what I have advanced, that he had laid it down as a maxim not to accept of any pecuniary gratification for his writings, by the positive assertion of the author, whose veracity cannot be doubted. And that he swerved from it in this single instance he imputes to Mr. Pope's *prudent management* for him. By which expression he seems to insinuate that it was not altogether with his approbation.

On the other hand it has been asserted that Swift got a sum of money for his first work, "The Tale of a Tub;" and as a proof of this, it is said, there is still in being an entry made in the books of the first publisher of a certain sum paid for that work. But this entry does not say to whom it was paid; and I shall here produce a certain proof that it was neither to Swift nor his order. That the first edition was made without his privity or consent, appears clearly from the following passages in the Apology prefixed to his own edition in 1709, where Swift, speaking of himself, says, "He was then a young gentleman much in the world, and wrote to the taste of those who were like himself; therefore, in order to allure them, he gave a liberty to his pen, which might not suit with maturer years or graver characters; and which he could easily have corrected, with a very few blots had he been *master of his papers for a year or two before their publication.* How the Author came to be without his papers, is a story not proper to be told, and of very little use, being a private fact: of which the reader would believe as little or as much as he thought good. He had, however, a blotted copy by him, which he intended to have written over with many alterations; and this the publishers were well aware of, having put it into the Bookseller's Preface that they apprehended a surreptitious copy, which was to be altered, &c. This, though not

regarded by readers, was a real truth, only the surreptitious copy was rather that which was printed; and they made all the haste they could, which indeed was needless, the Author not being at all prepared: but he has been told the *bookseller was much in pain, having given a good sum of money for the copy.*"

From the above passage it is evident that the first edition was printed, without the Author's privity, from a surreptitious copy, and the money was paid to the possessor of that copy; who certainly, under such circumstances, must wish to be concealed, and therefore no name is annexed to the entry in the Bookseller's account-book mentioned before.

"The first time that any of his straggling pieces were collected together, with his own consent, was so late as the year 1726, when he was far advanced in life. These were published by Mr. Pope in some volumes of Miscellanies, interspersed with works of his own, preceded by a Preface to which both their names were subscribed.

"Seven or eight years after this, the first collection of his Works, unmixed with those of others, was made by George Faulkner, printer and bookseller in Dublin, in four volumes octavo. This was carried on not only without the Dean's consent, but much against his inclination, as may be seen by several of his Letters written to different persons about that time*. Yet Faulkner, in order to

* Among many others the following passages in two of his letters to Mr. Pulteny, will clearly prove the point. "You will hear, perhaps, that one Faulkner has printed four volumes, which are called my Works. He has only prefixed the first letters of my name. *It was done utterly against my will;* for there is no property in printers or booksellers here, and I was not able to hinder it. *I have never yet looked into them, nor I believe ever shall.*" March 8, 1734. Again, May 12, 1735, he says, "you are pleased to mention some volumes of what are called my Works. I have looked on them very little.—The printer applied to my friends, and got many things from England. The man was civil and humble, but I had no dealings with him; and therefore he consulted some friends, who were readier to direct him than I desired they should." S.

stamp a credit on his edition, had the confidence to assert (not indeed till after the Dean had lost his senses) in some of the latter volumes, that the whole was carried on under his inspection; nay, that he even corrected the press, sheet by sheet: the falsehood of which must appear to every one, who sees what a number of absurd and stupid notes are to be found there. But, indeed, he was so far from encouraging the Work, that he never could be prevailed on to give the least information about any other of his writings, not before publicly known to be his, though frequently importuned on that head by Dr. Sheridan, and many others of his friends, who were inclined to serve Faulkner, and wished to make the edition as complete as possible: on which account they could, at that time, furnish out only four volumes*. There was but one point in which he interfered; that of not suffering his name to be prefixed, but only the initial letters.

"The avidity with which these works were devoured by the public, brought on a search for all the other writings of the author, not contained in this collection, and several successive volumes were published as they were found out. Out of these the ingenious Dr. Hawkesworth formed an elegant edition, enriched with notes, many of which are retained in this.

"When all that had hitherto been printed was exhausted, the curiosity was keener with regard to original pieces, and such manuscripts as had never seen the light. Among these none have met with a more favourable reception from the public, than the collection of his Epistolary Correspondence; for, though it is evident that none of these letters (if we except only Mr. Pope's) were intended for the press, yet this very circumstance seems to have

* The Dean's assignment of these papers to Mr. Pilkington is printed in the present Preface, p. 18. N.

enhanced their value, according to an observation of lord Bolingbroke's, in one of his Epistles to Swift, where he says—'Pliny writ his letters for the public; so did Seneca; so did Balsac, Voiture, &c. Tully did not, and therefore these give us more pleasure than any which have come down to us from antiquity. When we read them we pry into a secret which was intended to be kept from us. That is a pleasure. We see Cato and Brutus, and Pompey, and others, such as they really were, and not such as the gaping multitude of their own age took them to be or as historians and poets have repre sented them to ours. That is another pleasure.'

"When we reflect that among his correspondents are to be found the celebrated names of Bolingbroke, Pope, Addison, Gay, Arbuthnot, Prior, archbishop King, Peterborow, Pulteny, Voltaire, &c. we need not wonder that the curiosity of the present times has been so highly gratified by their publication. Nor is there any doubt but that their value will continue to increase with posterity, in proportion to the distance of time, down to the latest period. And even among those correspondents of an inferior class, the letters will perhaps be found the best patterns in our language, whether of the easy, familiar, or elegant style; in which some of the ladies have distinguished themselves, particularly the dutchess of Queensberry and Lady Betty Germain. But Swift's own style in his Epistles, as in every thing else, will always remain unrivalled, until some great original genius like himself shall arise.

"In this collection nothing is more valuable, or has more highly gratified the curiosity of the public, than his Journal to Stella; as it lets us more into the real character of Swift than all his other writings put together. In this Journal, daily addressed to his bosom friend, every thought as it rises in his mind, and every feeling of his

heart, are laid open in all the nakedness of truth. Throughout the whole he is thinking aloud, as if he were conversing with her *tête à tête;* and out of this as true a portrait may be made of the peculiar features and complexion of his mind, as could be done of his external form, by any artist to whom he might sit for his picture; and to this I have been chiefly indebted, for the proofs produced in support of his character.

"The first thing to be done in this edition, was to disembroil these works from the chaos in which they have hitherto appeared, and reduce them into some regular order under proper heads.

"The first volume is wholly taken up with the History of his Life.

"The second contains his Tale of a Tub, Battle of the Books, being his earliest productions, and the first of his Political Tracts written in England.

"The third and fourth contain all his other Political Tracts relative to English Affairs.

"The fifth, his Essays on various Subjects.

"The sixth, Gulliver's Travels.

"The seventh and eighth, all his Poetical Works, and Polite Conversation.

"The ninth, all his Political Tracts relative to Ireland.

"The tenth, his sermons, and a variety of detached Pieces written in Ireland.

"The eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth volumes contain the whole of his Epistolary Correspondence. As the several parcels containing these Letters had fallen into different hands, and were published at different times, they were printed without any regard to order, insomuch that the answers to numbers of the Letters were to be sought for in different volumes.

They are here digested in a regular series according to their dates. The correspondence between Mr. Pope and the Dean, not in the former edition, is here added, as published by Pope; and the whole closed with his Journal to Stella, in an uninterrupted series.

"In the sixteenth volume are thrown together all his Sketches and unfinished Pieces.

"The seventeenth volume consists of Martinus Scriblerus, John Bull, and various other Pieces in prose and verse, published in Pope's Miscellanies. As these Pieces are admirable in themselves, and as it is well known that Swift had a great share in some of the most capital, though according to his usual practice, he never claimed any, but let his friends Arbuthnot and Pope enjoy the whole reputation as well as profit arising from them; and as these have always made a part of Swift's Works, where only they are now to be found collected, it was thought proper to add this volume to the rest.

"As Swift has been universally allowed to write the purest and most correct English of any of our Authors, I thought it might be of public benefit, to point out all grammatical errors, solecisms, or inaccuracies that might occur in his style. For—

Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.

This I have done throughout, as occasion offered, in notes; except in his more familiar letters, where some degree of negligence is allowable, and the use of colloquial phrases, not consistent perhaps with strict propriety, is permitted, as giving them a more natural air. Nor have I taken notice of many inaccuracies of a similar kind in his Gulliver's Travels; where he sometimes purposely makes use of phrases and expressions not strictly grammatical, in order that the style might seem more in character, as coming from a seafaring man. The not adverting to this, has been the reason that several critics, who have taken

upon them to point out Swift's inaccuracies, have produced almost all their instances from Gulliver's Travels.

"But, beside the particular passages which I have commented upon in the notes, there are some general improprieties which run through the whole body of the works, not only of our author, but of all other English writers. These have been established by long custom, and suffered to keep their posts through an unpardonable neglect of studying our own language. To point these out wherever they occurred would have been an endless task, and occasioned a disgusting repetition; I have therefore corrected them throughout; and that the reader may judge of the propriety of so doing, I here subjoin a list of them.

"As the living speech has never engaged our attention, the whole being employed about the written language, many barbarous words of uncouth sounds are still retained, notwithstanding there are others of the same import, more pleasing to the ear. Such as—

Whilst*	For	While
amongst		among
betwixt		between
amidst		amid

No final sound can be more disagreeable than that of *st*—as it is only the sudden stop of a hiss.

Downwards	For	Downward
forwards		forward
towards		toward

What occasion is there for continuing the final *s* in those words?

Further—farther—

Why is this anomaly suffered to remain, when we have the regular degrees of comparison in—

Far, farther, farthest?

* See this barbarism corrected by Swift himself, in a letter to Mr. Beach, dated April 12, 1735, printed in vol. XIX. N.

Beside—besides—

These two words being of similar sound, are very improperly used promiscuously, the one for the other. When employed as a preposition, the word *beside* should always be used; when as an adverb, *besides*—The first signifies—*over and above*—The last, *moreover*. As in the following sentences. Beside *(over and above)* what has been advanced upon this subject, it may lead us to inquire, &c.

"Besides, (*moreover*) what has been advanced upon this subject, may lead us to inquire, &c.

"It is always an imperfection in a language to have the same individual word belong to different parts of speech; but when there are two words differently pronounced, and differently spelt, used promiscuously for each other, both in point of meaning, and in discharging the different offices of preposition and adverb, it savours much of barbarism, as it is so easy to allot their peculiar province to each. When I said that the word *beside*—should be always used as the preposition, and—*besides*—as the adverb, the choice was not made at random. In its prepositional state, it must be closely united to the following word; in its adverbial, it should always have a pause after it. Now the word besi*de*—not loaded with the final *s*, is rendered more apt to run glibly into the following word: and the word besi*des*, always preceding a pause, has, by the addition of the *s*, a stronger sound to rest upon.

Like—likely.

"These two words also, from a similitude of sound, though of such different meanings, are used promiscuously. Like—should be confined to similitude,—Likely—to probability.

No-ways—nowise—

"No-ways—is a vulgar corruption from nowise, and yet has got into general use, even among our best writers.

The terminating—*wise*—signifies manner; as—like*wise*—in like manner—other*wise*—in a different manner. It should be always written—*nowise*, in no manner.

From whence—whence.

"The preposition—*from*—in the use of this phrase, is for the most part redundant, as it is generally included in the word whence. Thus—*whence* come you? signifies—from what place come you? *Whence* it follows—from which it follows.

No—not.—

"The particle—*no*—is often substituted in the place of —*not;* as—I care not whether you believe me or *no*—To show the absurdity of this, it will be only necessary to add the words after—*no*—which are understood—as thus—I care not whether you believe me, or *no* believe me—instead of do *not* believe me. The adverbs *no* and *yes*, are particles expressive of the simple dissent or assent of the speaker, and can never be connected with any following word; and we might with as much propriety say —I care not whether you do not believe me or *yes*—as make use of its opposite—*no*—in that manner. This vulgarism has taken its rise from the same cause beforementioned, the similarity of sound between no and not.

Never so—ever so—

"This is a strange solecism in language. *Never* so, signifies *not* ever so. Let us substitute the one for the other, and the absurdity will be apparent. Thus, when we say—I will do it, let him be *never* so angry—how contrary to the intention would it appear, should the phrase be changed to—let him not be ever so angry. Or if we use the same word in a phrase of like import—I will do it *however* angry he may be—how glaring would the absurdity appear, should any one say—how*never* angry he may be!

—I *had* rather—

"This phrase is strangely ungrammatical; *rather*—means—more willingly. Now let us substitute the one in the place of the other—as—I *had more willingly* go, than stay—*rather*—is expressive of an act of the will, and therefore should be joined to the verb—to *will*—and not to the auxiliary—to *have*. Instead of I *had* rather—it should be—I *would* rather.

A—an—

"In the use of this article, it has been laid down as a rule, that it should be written—*a*—before a consonant, and—*an*—before a vowel; but by not attending to the exceptions to this rule, the article *an*—has been very improperly placed before words of a certain class, which ought to be preceded by the vowel singly. All words beginning with *u*, when the accent is on it, or when the vowel is sounded separately from any other letter, should have *a*, not *an*, before them. As, a únit, a úniverse, a úseful project, &c. For the vowel *u*, in this case, has not a simple sound, but is pronounced exactly in the same manner as the diphthongs commencing with *y*, as in *you* the pronoun, the individual sound given to the name of the vowel *u*. Now, *an*, is never written before any words beginning with *y*; nor should it be placed before words commencing with *u*, when sounded exactly in the same manner; if we write—*a youth*, we should also write—a *use*.

"In like manner—*an*—never precedes words commencing with *w*, nor should it therefore the vowel *a*, when it forms the same sound. Thus the word, *one*, has the same sound as if written, *won*, and yet it has been the custom to write—such *an* one. In both cases contrary to the usage of speech.

"When words begin with the letter *h*, they are preceded sometimes by *a*, sometimes by *an*; and this by an

invariable rule in speaking. When the *h*, or aspirate, is sounded, the article *a* is used; as a house, a horse; when the *h* is mute, *an* is employed; as, an hour, an honour; pronounced as if written an our, an onnur. And yet in all books published of late years, the article *an* precedes all words beginning with *h*, alike—as an house, an horse, &c. Surely the printers ought to reform this abuse, when they have such an obvious rule to guide them. They have nothing to do but to follow the established mode of speech, whereof printing ought, as nearly as possible, to be the transcript.

"I have also taken the liberty of changing throughout an affected use of the third persons singular in verbs, by employing the termination *eth*, long since become obsolete, as loveth, readeth, writeth, instead of—loves, reads, writes. This habit seems to have been caught from his professional use of the Church Service, the Bible, sermons, &c. for in the early editions of his first publications, it had not obtained; nor indeed in any of the others has it uniformly prevailed, as not only in the same page, but even the same sentence, the different modes are frequently to be found; and the terminating *es*, is, out of all proportion, oftener used than that of *eth*; which would not have been the case, had it been the effect of judgment, or of choice. Now, as this singularity is not to be met with, in any of the polished writers from the days of Charles the Second to this hour, I thought it should no longer have the sanction of so distinguished a name, by the casual use of it here and there in his works; especially as the change was much for the better, and founded upon good taste. None of the elements of speech have a less agreeable sound to the ear, than that of *eth*; it is a dead obtuse sound, formed of the thickened breath, without any mixture of the voice; resembling the noise made by an angry goose,

from which indeed it was borrowed; and is more disagreeable than the hissing *s*, which has at least more of sharpness and spirit in it. On this account, as well as some other causes arising from the genius of our tongue, not necessary to be explained here, it has been long disused by our best writers; but as it yet remains in the translation of the Bible, and in the Common Prayer-book, it may be still employed, even to advantage, in sermons, and works of divinity; as it borrows a kind of solemnity, and somewhat of a sanctified air, from being found only in those sacred writings; on which account, I have suffered it to remain in such of Swift's Works as may be classed under those heads.

"Those who are advocates for the change of *s* into *eth*, assign as a reason for it, that in so doing we avoid the frequent repetition of that hissing letter, objected to our language as an imperfection. But in this, as in many other instances where sound is concerned, they judge by the eye, not the ear; for the letter *s*, after every consonant in our language, except four, loses its own power, and assumes that of *z*, one of our most pleasing sounds.

"In this edition I have given all the genuine Writings of Swift hitherto published, of whatever kind, and however trifling; as it was the general opinion, that an edition which should omit any thing of his, printed in a former one, would be considered as imperfect. The eagerness with which every thing has been sought after, which casually dropped from his pen, confirms this opinion. His slightest sketches, like those of some great painter, still show a masterly hand; and his most imperfect pieces, however great may be the quantity of alloy, still contain some particles of gold worth extracting. If the more fastidious critics should object that there is some trash to be found among them, I shall give them the same answer that lord Chesterfield did to one of that

sort. 'It is true, there is some stuff to be found there, but still it is Swift's stuff."

In 1783, some letters from Dr. Swift to Dr. Atterbury were given to the public, in the "Epistolary Correspondence" of the last mentioned very eminent Dignitary.

In 1789, a small volume of Dean Swift's "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse" was published by Mr. Dilly; which the anonymous Editor thus modestly introduced:

"To the Miscellanies now presented to the public* little preface is necessary. The productions of Dean Swift will ever speak for themselves. The publisher has only to lament that the death of a literary friend, to whom he owes the communication of the greater part of this volume, has deprived him of that satisfactory elucidation the collection would otherwise have received; and to acknowledge the assistance of another friend, from whom he has had some valuable additions.

"Whenever a complete edition shall be formed of Swift's Writings, it must be by an accurate comparison of the seventeen volumes published by Mr. Sheridan, with the twenty-five volumes in the editions of Dr. Hawkesworth and Mr. Nichols. When that is done, the present volume will form an interesting part; and till then it may be considered either as an eighteenth volume of the one edition, or as a twenty-sixth of the other."

In the same year, 1789, seven letters from Dr. Swift, and nine from his housekeeper Mrs. Whiteway, appeared in a valuable publication, by the late George Monck Berkeley, Esq. entitled, "Literary Relicks;" to which

* In this volume was inserted the Dean's "Ode to King William on his successes in Ireland;" which the present Editor had previously recovered, in 1780, in his "Select Collection of Poems." N.

an elegant and spirited Inquiry into the life of Dean Swift is prefixed.*

The Gentleman's Magazine for the last twenty years has been an occasional store-house, whence many of the articles now first collected have been carefully extracted.

The only publication which remains to be mentioned is a collection of the Dean's Poetry, in "The works of the British Poets, with Prefaces Biographical and Critical, by Robert Anderson, M. D. 1795;" to which the ingenious editor has prefixed a Life of Dr. Swift, and some remarks on his character and writings. These are very properly closed with that furnished by Dr. Johnson; which, though "less favourable" than those of his preceding biographers, will "by no means warrant the severe recrimination of Mr. Sheridan."†

J. N.

* See some copious extracts from it at the end of vol. II.

† That the Reader may judge for himself, Dr. Johnson's character of Swift shall be inserted at the end of the Second Volume of the present edition.

THE

LIFE

OF

DOCTOR SWIFT,

WRITTEN BY

THOMAS SHERIDAN, Esq.

DETUR DIGNISSIMO.

I Here present the world with the Life of Dr. Swift: a man, whose original genius, and uncommon talents, have raised him, in the general estimation, above all the writers of the age. But, from causes to be hereafter explained, his character as a man has hitherto been very problematical; nor shall I find it easy, notwithstanding the most convincing proofs, to persuade mankind, that one who flourished in the beginning of this century, in times of great corruption, should afford in himself a pattern of such perfect virtue, as was rarely to be found in the annals of the ancient republic of Rome, when virtue was the mode. Yet if it can be shown that even at this day, when corruption seems to have arrived at its utmost pitch, when prostitution is openly avowed, and public spirit turned into a jest; if in such times as these, *in fæce Romuli*, there lives a man fully equal to Swift in all the moral virtues attributed to him; the improbability of the existence of such a character at a former period, will be much lessened. In the following history, Swift has been represented as a man of the most disinterested principles, regardless of self, and constantly employed in doing good to others. In acts of charity and liberality, in proportion to his means, perhaps without an equal, in his days. A warm champion in the cause of liberty, and support of the English constitution. A firm patriot, in withstanding all attempts against his country, either by oppression, or corruption; and indefatigable in pointing out, and encouraging the means to render her state more flourishing. Of incorruptible integrity, inviolable truth,

and steadiness in friendship. Utterly free from vice, and living in the constant discharge of all moral and christian duties. If, in these times, there should be found a man resembling him in all these points, it is fit the memorial of him, together with that of his immortal compeer, should be handed down to latest posterity: and that such a one does exist, will be acknowledged by all who have ever heard the universally revered name of Sir GEORGE SAVILE.

To him, therefore, is the following Life of a congenial patriot inscribed by its author; who has long admired his character, and been well acquainted with his worth, though a stranger to his person.

P. S. The above was committed to the press some weeks before the much lamented death of the excellent man to whom it was addressed; but the publication has by some accidents been deferred 'till now. That the author had no interested view in his choice of a patron (though he must ever regret the occasion) he has now an opportunity of showing, by letting the above Dedication remain in its original state, and thus consecrating to the memory of the dead, that tribute of praise, so justly due to the living.

[1784.]

INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the several attempts to gratify the curiosity of the world, in delineating the life and character of the immortal SWIFT, yet hitherto little satisfactory has been produced on that subject. The different, and often opposite lights in which he has been shown by the several writers, have occasioned an equal diversity of judgments in their several readers, according to their various prepossessions; and even the most candid are too often left in a state of doubt, through the want of having the truth laid before them supported by sufficient proofs.

Perhaps there never was a man whose true character has been so little known, or whose conduct at all times, even from his first setting out in life, has been so misrepresented to the world, as his. This was owing to several causes, which will be laid open in the following work. But the chief source of all the erroneous opinions entertained of him, arose from Swift himself, on account of some singularities in his character, which at all times exposed him to the shafts of envy and malice, while he employed no other shield in his defence, but that of conscious integrity.

He had, early in life, from causes to be hereafter explained, imbibed such a strong hatred to hypocrisy, that he fell into the opposite extreme; and no mortal ever took more pains to display his good qualities, and appear in the best light to the world, than he did to conceal his, or even to put on the semblance of their contraries.

This humour affected his whole conduct, as well in the more important duties, as in the common offices of life.

Though a man of great piety, and true religion, yet he carefully shunned all ostentation of it: as an instance of which, it is well known, that during his residence in London, not being called upon by any duty to officiate publicly in his clerical capacity, he was seldom seen at church at the usual hours that pretenders to religion show themselves there; but he was a constant attendant on early prayers, and a frequent partaker of early sacraments.

Though generous and charitable in his nature to the highest degree, he seemed to part with money so reluctantly, and spoke so much about economy, that he passed for avaricious, and hardhearted.

His very civilities bore the appearance of rudeness, and his finest compliments were conveyed under the disguise of satire.

Lord Bolingbroke, who knew him well, in two words, summed up his character in this respect, by saying, that Swift was a *hypocrite reversed.*

In short, he always appeared to the world in a mask, which he never took off but in the company of his most intimate friends: and as the world can judge only by appearances, no wonder they were so much mistaken in the ideas formed of him.

When we consider that the time in which he made the chief figure in life, was a season wherein faction raged with the greatest violence; that he was looked upon as the principal champion of the tory cause, and therefore was the common butt at which all the writers on the whig side levelled their shafts; there will be no occasion to wonder, that out of the many calumnies poured out against him, some of them should stick. These were

indeed so numerous, that we are told by himself, that in the space of not many years, upwards of a thousand pamphlets and papers were written professedly against him; to which he never deigned to give an answer, nor endeavoured to wipe off any aspersion thrown on him. Thus by the former part of his character, just laid open, he afforded his enemies sufficient groundwork on which to raise what superstructure of calumny they pleased, and as no defence was made, it was daily suffered to increase. For he had very unwisely laid it down as a maxim, "To act uprightly, and pay no regard to the opinion of the world." *

Thus, while he was admired, esteemed, beloved, beyond any man of his time, by his particular friends, not only on account of his superior talents, but his pre-eminence in every kind of virtue; he was envied, feared, and hated by his enemies, who consisted of a whole virulent faction to a man. And when we take in the general appetite for scandal, and the spirit of envy in the bulk of mankind, which delights in the humiliation of an exalted character, we shall not be surprised, that even among his own party, he found few advocates to vindicate his fame; and that he had no other support in this torrent of abuse, but the consciousness of his own rectitude, and the unalterable attachment of his intimate friends: among which number he could count such as were most eminent in those days, both for talents and virtue.

In this state Swift continued till the death of the queen; admired by all as a genius, detested by most as a man. All the world now knows, upon that event, with what implacable malice the whigs pursued their antagonists, as soon as they had got all power into their

* Miss Vanhomrigh, in one of her letters to him, has the following passage: "You once had a maxim, which was—To act what was right, and not mind what the world would say." S.

hands. This spirit raged still more violently in Ireland, than in England; the effects of which Swift sensibly felt on retiring to his deanery. The ill name he had obtained in London, followed him to Dublin; where he was the object of general hatred for some years. But when, in process of time, his true character came to be known, and his exemplary conduct gave the lie to the gross misrepresentations that had been made of him; when his spirit of patriotism broke forth into action, and saved his country from threatened ruin; when it was seen that the great object of his life was to promote public good; that in the discharge of all moral and religious duties, he had no superior; in the choice and extent of his charities, perhaps no equal; he obtained such a degree of public favour, as no man in that country had ever reached. Praise was united to his name, admiration and affection to his person; and this just tribute was ever after paid to him during his life, and to his memory after his decease; till a certain author arose, bent upon sullying his fair fame, who, opening the channels of calumny, long covered over by time, and raking in them with a *friendly* industry, once more brought their foul contents to light. Nor was it an enemy that did this, but one who professed himself Swift's friend, and who was, during his life-time, his greatest flatterer; I mean John Earl of Orrery.

The cruel manner in which he has treated the memory of his *friend* Swift, as his lordship in the course of the work often affects to call him, had something so surprising in it, that people were at a loss how to account for it, except by supposing it to proceed from some uncommon degree of malevolence in his lordship's nature. But though he cannot be wholly cleared from an imputation of that sort, yet I am persuaded that his chief motive to it was not quite of so black a dye. His father had, in *his will*, bequeathed his library from him; and this cir-

cumstance made the world conclude that he looked upon his son as a blockhead. This stung the young man to the quick; and we may see how deep an impression it made on him, by the account he gives of it in one of his letters to his son. It seems to have been the chief object of his life afterward, to wipe away this stigma, and convince the world of the injustice done him, by publishing some work that might do him credit as a writer. Conscious of his want of genius to produce any thing original, he applied himself diligently to a translation of Pliny's Letters; but he was so long about this task, and put it into so many hands to correct it, that Melmoth's excellent translation of the same work slipped into the world before his, and forestalled this avenue to fame. Vexed at this disappointment, he looked out for some other way by which he might acquire literary reputation, and he found no field so suited to his talents, as that of criticism; since, to make a figure there, required neither genius, nor deep learning: and therefore he might, with ease, arrive at the title of a *true* critic, as described in the Tale of a Tub. Of whom it had been remarked, "That a *true* critic is a sort of mechanic set up with a stock and tools for his trade, at as little expense as a tailor." But Swift denies this position—"For (says he) on the contrary, nothing is more certain, that it requires greater layings out to be free of the critic's company, than that of any other you can name. For, as to be a true beggar, it will cost the richest candidate every groat he is worth; so, before one can commence a *true critic*, it will cost a man all the good qualities of his mind: which, perhaps, for a less purchase, would be thought but an indifferent bargain." As his lordship has fairly paid the purchase, it would be hard if he should be denied the title.

The business now was, to find out a proper subject on which to exercise his talents in that way. As there never had been published any history of Swift's life, he thought nothing could excite general curiosity more than some account of that extraordinary man. It is true he was supplied with but scanty materials for such a work; for though he had lived a short time in some degree of intimacy with Swift, yet it was only in the latter part of his life, when he was declined into the vale of years, when his faculties were impaired, when his temper, soured by disappointments, and his spirits sunk by continual attacks of a cruel disorder, made as great a change in his mind, as in his outward form, so that little of his former self remained. To draw his character at length, from observations made at such a period, was the height of injustice; and yet his lordship had no opportunity of knowing any thing of the brighter part of his days, but from common report. For, as Swift was the last man in the world to talk much of himself, his lordship's acquaintance with him furnished him with no materials of that sort; he therefore had recourse to common fame, which, as I have before shown, had been always busy in calumniating that great man; and with a cruel industry he collected and revived all the reports, which had formerly been spread to his disadvantage. His lordship's chief view in publishing this work, being to acquire celebrity as an author—

———*hominum volitare per ora*—

in order to obtain this end, he knew that satire was more likely to procure a rapid sale to the book, than panegyric. All regard therefore to truth, justice, honour, and humanity, was to be sacrificed, whenever they came in competition with this great end.

The event did credit to his lordship's sagacity, for the work had a rapid sale, and soon ran through a variety of editions. This was owing to several causes. The whigs were then a great majority of the nation, and in possession of all the power. Though their animosity against those of the opposite party had somewhat subsided, yet was it far from being wholly extinguished. They had always entertained an implacable hatred to Swift, as the great champion of the other side; which was not extinguished by his death, as in the case of others, because his immortal works still continued a living war against the base measures they pursued. It was with delight therefore they read over a work, which painted him in the same colours, in which they had always endeavoured to represent him. The bulk of mankind, finding that the accounts there given coincided with the general prejudices founded on common fame, readily received them as true. And that spirit of envy, an inmate in the breasts of most men, which delights in seeing those of superior talents degraded, and brought down more to a level with themselves, was highly gratified by the perusal of that book. Nor was it the least cause of an extensive sale, that it was written by a *lord;* a thing so rare in latter times! Wonder, usually accompanied by a bad taste, looks out only for what is uncommon; and if a work comes abroad under the name of a thresher, a bricklayer, or a lord, it is sure to be eagerly sought after by the million.

To these, and similar causes, was owing the favourable reception this book met with; which, in itself, contains little that could be approved of by men of true taste. What relates to Swift's life, from the scantiness of his materials, does not take up a sixth portion of the whole. The greater part of the remainder consists of useless or invidious criticisms on his works. Yet all

all this not being sufficient to make up a *just* volume (according to the booksellers' phrase) he has eked it out from his common-place book, in order to show his learning, by introducing several dissertations, foreign to the subject in hand: such as those on madness, idiotism; characters of Homer, Aristotle; of Ramus, Scotus, and Aquinas; of Epicurus, Descartes, and Gassendi. Remarks upon the writings of Lord Bacon, Milton, Harrington, Algernon Sidney, Lord Clarendon, Dr. Sprat, Sir William Temple, Addison, Lord Bolingbroke, &c. with many other impertinencies.

Not long after the publication of this work, there came out an answer to it, under the title of "Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift," afterward known to be written by Dr. Delany; who from an early and long intimacy with the dean, was able to refute most of the facts, upon which his lordship grounded his observations, by producing uncontrovertible proofs to the contrary. Yet, though this book was written with great spirit, and carried the evidence of truth with it; as it was an anonymous publication, it was little attended to, except by those who wished well to the memory of the dean. Besides, truth is not the object sought after by those who are desirous of remaining in an error. Swift has an observation on this head, which will be found to be generally true: "The ill talent of the world is such, that those who will be at pains enough to inform themselves in a malicious story, will take none at all to be undeceived; nay, will be apt with some reluctance to admit a favourable truth." This observation was never more strongly verified than in the case before us; for, while the book which calumniated Swift's character, and endeavoured to depreciate his talents, though poorly written, went through a great number of editions; the single one of the Answer, incomparably su-

perior in every thing which can recommend writings of that kind, still remains unsold.

But whatever favourable reception this book met with in England, never did I know such a universal indignation as was excited in all ranks of people, by the publication of it in Ireland. They were the only proper judges of his character, who had an opportunity of knowing his conduct, during a residence of so many years. If they admired him for his genius, they almost adored him for his virtues. In his public capacity, he was one of the truest patriots that ever lived; and for the many important services he did his country, he was hailed by the general voice *pater patriæ*. In his private life, of the strictest morals; and in the discharge of his clerical duties, of exemplary piety. His charities were boundless, and the whole business of his life was, doing good. As party animosities had long before subsided, he had few enemies left; and even those few, when their hatred, together with their fear, had been buried in his grave, joined in doing all justice to his memory. To calumniate the character of such a man, was thought little less than sacrilege; and the rage of the people was such, that it vented itself even on the poor printer of the work, who became for a long time the object of public odium. It was happy for his lordship that he did not pay a visit to that country during the ferment, for he would, most assuredly, have been grossly insulted by the populace, and avoided by all of a superior rank.

Dr. Delany's Answer was followed by another from Deane Swift, Esq. As it came from a near relation of the dean's, it, at first, excited some expectation; which was soon succeeded by disappointment, and the work consigned to oblivion. Where let it rest.

On the publication of a new edition of Swift's works, the proprietors applied to Dr. Hawkesworth to write his

life. He was an author of no small eminence; a man of clear judgment, and great candour. He quickly discerned the truth from the falsehood; wiped away many of the aspersions that had been thrown on Swift's character; and placed it, so far as he went, in its proper light. But as he had no new materials of his own, and was confined to such only as were contained in former publications, the view he has given of his life is very imperfect; many of the most important articles are omitted, and others still left in a very doubtful state.

The last writer who has given any account of Swift, is Dr. Johnson; who seems to have undertaken this task, rather from the necessity he was under of taking some notice of him in the course of his Biographical History of the English Poets, than from choice. He has presented us only with a short abstract of what he found in Dr. Hawkesworth, for which he makes the following apology. "An account of Dr. Swift has been already collected with great diligence and acuteness, by Dr. Hawkesworth, according to a scheme which I laid before him in the intimacy of our friendship. I cannot therefore be expected to say much of a life, concerning which I had long since communicated my thoughts, to a man capable of dignifying his narration, with so much elegance of language, and force of sentiment." Accordingly, he has produced little new on the subject, except some observations of his own, which are far from being favourable to the character of Swift. It is much to be lamented, that a man of his great abilities did not choose to follow his friend Hawkesworth in the paths of just and candid criticism, instead of associating himself with lord Orrery to the band of *true* critics. Of which body he has shown himself no unworthy member, not on this occasion only, but in the many severe strictures passed on the lives and

writings of some of the greatest geniuses this country has produced; to the no small indignation of their several admirers, and to the great regret of the doctor's own. As this work is more likely to be generally read than any of the others; both on account of the great reputation of the author, and as it will of course present itself to the eyes of all who shall go through his collection of lives, I shall hereafter take an opportunity of making some comments upon those passages, which tend to depreciate and misrepresent the character of so great a man.

These several publications, which place the life and character of Swift in very different, and often opposite points of light, have occasioned great diversity in the judgments formed of them by the world, according to the different degrees of prejudice, or candour, in their several readers. But as the sale of the first essay on this subject, written by lord Orrery, was infinitely superior to that of all the others put together, the prepossessions in favour of the accounts delivered by him, have, for reasons already assigned, made too deep an impression on the bulk of mankind, to be easily erased. I have before taken notice of the scantiness of his materials, which yet he has not ranged in any regular order; and which consist chiefly of detached facts and unconnected anecdotes, so that there is no appearance of a whole. The portrait he has drawn of him, puts one in mind of certain paintings to be seen at the optician's in St. Paul's church-yard, where we behold some scattered and distorted features, covered with blotches of various colours, so that we cannot discover what it is intended to represent: till by the application of a cylindrical mirror, we are surprised to see start forth a face of the finest proportioned features, and most beautiful complexion. By such an application of the mirror of truth I hope to show Swift in a similar light.

I have long wished for leisure to set about this task, which a life spent in a variety of laborious occupations has hitherto prevented. And even now I am obliged to suspend pursuits of a more advantageous kind with regard to myself in order to accomplish it.* But, reflecting, at this advanced period of life, on the near approaches of old age, which might soon disqualify me from carrying my design into execution, I determined to postpone all other considerations that might stand in the way of an object I have had so much at heart. The love I had to his person, and the reverence in which I was taught, from my earliest days, to hold his character, and with which I had an opportunity of being well acquainted, on account of the long intimacy subsisting between him and my father; and, above all, the means I have in my power of rescuing his good name from the aspersions thrown on it by foul-mouthed calumny, have made me think it an indispensable duty, no longer to delay doing justice to his memory.

From the above acknowledgment of my early prepossessions in his favour, it may be thought that I shall prove not an uprejudiced historian: but, though I am conscious to myself that I shall never be guilty of any wilful misrepresentations, I know too well how little weight all professions of impartiality carry with them on such occasions to trouble the reader with any. I desire no credit to be given to assertions or opinions not supported by the most convincing proofs: which, therefore, in all disputable points, I hope I shall be indulged in producing at full length. And I doubt not but that the display of Swift's true character and conduct in life, though to the

* Mr. Sheridan was paid more by the booksellers for this single life, than Dr. Johnson received for the whole of his Biography of the English Poets. N.

confusion of his maligners, and disappointment of the envious and malevolent, will give great satisfaction to all good minds; as it is of moment to the general cause of religion and morality to make it appear that the greatest genius of the age was, at the same time, a man of the truest piety, and most exalted virtue.

THE

LIFE

OF

DOCTOR SWIFT.

SECTION I.

SWIFT was descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire, of no small note, and considerable property. He was of the younger branch.* His grandfather, the reverend Thomas Swift, was possessed of a good estate, and was distinguished above any man of his station in life, for his attachment to Charles I. and the sufferings he underwent in support of the royal cause, by which his fortune was entirely ruined. He had ten sons, and three daughters. Five of his sons went to seek their fortune in Ireland; the fourth of whom, Jonathan, was father to the famous doctor Swift. He had married Mrs. Abigail Erick, descended from an ancient family of that name in Leicestershire, but with little or no fortune. He died young, in about two years after his marriage, seven months before the birth of his only son; and as he was but just beginning the world, left his widow in very distressed circumstances.

* For farther particulars of Swift's family, see his own account in the Appendix. S.

JONATHAN SWIFT, afterward the celebrated dean of St. Patrick's, was born on the 30th of November, 1667, in Hoey's court, Dublin. When he was but a year old, he was, without the knowledge of his mother or relations, stolen away by his nurse, and carried to Whitehaven,* which place she was under a necessity of visiting, on account of the illness of a relation, from whom she expected a legacy; and, as is usual among Irish nurses, she bore such an affection to the child, that she could not think of going without him. There he continued for almost three years; and she took such care of him, that he had learned to spell, and could read any chapter in the Bible before he was five years old.

At the age of six he was sent to the school of Kilkenny;† and at fourteen admitted into the university of Dublin; the expense of his education being defrayed by his uncle Godwin Swift, the eldest of the brothers who had settled in Ireland. He was a lawyer of great eminence, and had made considerable sums of money, which were for the most part squandered away in idle projects. By means of which, soon after his nephew had entered the college, he found himself involved in

* He retained his affection for Whitehaven to the last, as if it were his native place; and when one of his friends, who had spent a little time there in 1739, told him in the Spring following, that a merchant from thence, with his son and daughter, were then in Dublin, he invited them to dinner, and showed them many civilities whilst they stayed in that city. N.

† This school, or college as it is called, of Kilkenny, is a large building erected for that purpose, founded and endowed by the Ormond family. In the school-room Swift's name still remains, as he cut it on the side-board of the seat of his class with his knife, after the custom of boys. And here he said he first learned, soon after he entered the school, these words, which he termed *Latino-Anglicè*, "Mi dux, et amasti lux." This species of writing became afterwards one of those whimsical amusements with which he entertained himself as he sunk in years. N.

great difficulties; and being father of a numerous offspring by four wives, he was under a necessity of reducing the stipend allowed to his nephew for his support at the university, as low as possible. The real situation of Godwin's affairs not being then known to the world, and as he was looked upon to be much the richest of the family, Swift's other relations seemed at that time to think that their aid was not at all necessary; so that he was obliged to make the best shift he could, with the wretched allowance that his uncle gave him. Thus was one of the most aspiring and liberal minds in the world, early checked and confined, by the narrowness of his circumstances; with this bitter aggravation to a generous spirit, that the small pittance afforded by his uncle, seemed to him, from the manner in which it was given, rather as an alms doled out for charity, than an act of beneficence due from so near a relation; who was supposed by him, as well as by the rest of the world, to be in circumstances that might have afforded a much more liberal stipend, without prejudice to his own family. Under this load did the spirit of Swift groan for the space of near seven years that he resided in the college of Dublin; which made so deep an impression on him, that he never afterward could think with patience of his uncle Godwin, nor could heartily forgive the neglect shown him during that time by his other relations.

The uneasy situation of mind which a young man of high spirit must have been in, under such circumstances, produced consequences likely to prove destructive of his future fortunes. For, in such a state he could not bear to give the necessary application to some of the more dry parts of the academic studies, for which he had indeed naturally no great relish; but passed his time chiefly in reading books of history and poetry; which were better suited to his taste, and more calcula-

ted to relieve the troubles of his mind. In consequence of this, when the time came for his taking the degree of bachelor of arts, he was stopped, as he himself expresses it, "for dullness and insufficiency." It is to be supposed that the word dullness was on this occasion used by Swift jocosely, as the cause assigned for stopping any person of a degree, is answering badly in any branch of literature appointed for that particular examination; which does not necessarily imply dullness, as it may as well proceed from idleness. But in Swift's case it was rather to be imputed to contumacy, than either the one or the other. For the fact is, there was one branch of the examination, on which the greatest stress was laid in those days, in which he could not be said to answer badly, for he did not attempt to answer at all. This account I had from his own lips. He told me that he had made many efforts, upon his entering the college, to read some of the old treatises on logic writ by Smeglesius, Keckermannus, Burgersdicius, &c. and that he never had patience to go through three pages of any of them, he was so disgusted at the stupidity of the work. When he was urged by his tutor to make himself master of this branch, then in high estimation, and held essentially necessary to the taking of a degree; Swift asked him, "what it was he was to learn from those books?" His tutor told him, "the art of reasoning." Swift said, "that he found no want of any such art; that he could reason very well without it; and that as far as he could observe, they who had made the greatest proficiency in logic, had, instead of the art of reasoning, acquired the art of wrangling; and instead of clearing up obscurities, had learned how to perplex matters that were clear enough before. For his own part, he was contented with that portion of reason which God had given him, and he would leave it to time and experience to strengthen and direct it

properly: nor would he run the risk of having it warped or falsely biassed, by any system of rules laid down by such stupid writers; of the bad effects of which he had but too many examples before his eyes, in those reckoned the most acute logicians." And accordingly he made a firm resolution that he never would read any of those books. Which he so pertinaciously adhered to, that though he was stopped of his degree the first time of sitting for it, on account of his not answering in that branch, he went into the hall a second time, as ill prepared in that respect as before; and would also have been stopped a second time, on the same account, if the interest of his friends, who well knew the inflexibility of his temper, had not stepped in, and obtained it for him: though in a manner little to his credit, as it was inserted in the college registry, that he obtained it *speciali gratiâ;* where it still remains upon record.*

In going through the usual forms of disputation for his degree, he told me he was utterly unacquainted even with the logical terms, and answered the arguments of his opponents in his own manner, which the proctor put into proper form. There was one circumstance in the account which he gave of this, that surprised me with regard to his memory; for he told me the several questions on which he disputed, and repeated all the arguments used by his opponents in syllogistic form, together with his answers.

He remained in the college near three years after this, not through choice, but necessity; little known or regarded. By scholars he was esteemed a blockhead; and as the lowness of his circumstances would not permit him to keep company of an equal rank with himself, upon an

* Some others of the same class were at the same time admitted in the like manner; namely, Nathanael Jones, John Jones, Michael Vandeleur, and William Brereton. N.

equal footing, he scorned to take up with those of a lower class, or to be obliged to those of a higher. He lived therefore much alone, and his time was employed in pursuing his course of reading in history and poetry, then very unfashionable studies for an academic; or in gloomy meditations on his unhappy circumstances. Yet under this heavy pressure, the force of his genius broke out, in the first rude draught of the "Tale of a Tub," written by him at the age of nineteen, though communicated to nobody but his chamber fellow Mr. Waryng; who, after the publication of the book, made no scruple to declare that he had read the first sketch of it in Swift's hand-writing, when he was of that age.*

Soon after this, his uncle Godwin was seized with a lethargy, which rendered him incapable of business; and then it was that the broken state of his affairs was made public. Swift now lost even the poor support that he had before; but his uncle William supplied the place of Godwin to him, though not in a more enlarged way, which could not be expected from his circumstances; yet with so much better a grace, as somewhat lightened the burden of dependence, and engaged Swift's gratitude afterward, who distinguished him by the title of "the best of his relations." He had no expectation however of receiving any thing more from him than what was absolutely necessary for his support; and his chief hopes now for any thing beyond that, rested in his cousin Willoughby Swift, eldest son of his uncle Godwin, a considerable merchant at Lisbon. Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. For, soon after the account of his father's unhappy situation had reached Willoughby Swift at Lis-

*He appears also to have intended to write "An Account of the Kingdom of Absurdities" about the same time. In the "Tale of a Tub" such a tract is mentioned, as intended by the anonymous author. N.

bon, he, reflecting that his cousin Jonathan's destitute condition demanded immediate relief, sent him a present of a larger sum than ever Jonathan had been master of in his life before. This supply arrived at a critical juncture; when Swift, without a penny in his purse, was despondingly looking out of his chamber window, to gape away the time, and happened to cast his eye upon a seafaring man, who seemed to be making inquiries after somebody's chambers. The thought immediately came into Swift's head, that this might be some master of a vessel who was the bearer of a present to him from his cousin at Lisbon. He saw him enter the building with pleasing expectation, and soon after heard a rap at his door, which he eagerly opening, was accosted by the sailor with—"Is your name Jonathan Swift?" "Yes!" "Why then I have something for you from master Willoughby Swift of Lisbon." He then drew out a large leathern bag, and poured out the contents, which were silver cobs, upon the table. Swift, enraptured at the sight, in the first transports of his heart, pushed over a large number of them, without reckoning, to the sailor, as a reward for his trouble; but the honest tar declined taking any, saying, that "he would do more than that for good master Willoughby." This was the first time that Swift's disposition was tried with regard to the management of money; and he said that the reflection of his constant sufferings through the want of it, made him husband it so well, that he was never afterward without some in his purse.

Soon after this, upon the breaking out of the war in Ireland, Swift determined to leave that kingdom, and to visit his mother at Leicester, in order to consult with her upon his future plan of life.

Such was the opening of this great man's life; and from such a beginning, who could at that time have ima-

gined that such mighty things were to ensue? He was now in his one-and-twentieth year; unqualified for any profession but that of the church; in which he had no prospect of succeeding from interest; and the disgraceful manner of his taking his degree, was a strong bar to any hopes on the score of merit. He had made no advances in any of the useful studies necessary to put a young man forward in the world; the recluseness of his life had rendered him little known; and a temper naturally splenetic, soured by the misery of his situation, did not qualify him much for making personal friends. How unpromising were the prospects of such a man, just entering into the world, under such circumstances! and yet it is to those very circumstances, probably, that the world owes, A SWIFT; to the want of money, want of learning, want of friends. Whoever is acquainted at all with the life and writings of Swift, must see that he had an uncommon share of spirit and fire in his constitution. Such as, had it not been kept under during the heat of youth, would probably have precipitated him into some extravagant courses. Nothing less than the lowness of his circumstances from his birth, could have kept that fire from bursting out; nothing less than the galling yoke of dependence, could have restrained that proud spirit within due bounds. His poverty and his pride were two excellent guards set over him, during that most dangerous time of life, to fix and keep him in a course of virtue. The one debarred him from excesses in the pleasurable gratifications of youth, which money only can procure; the other kept him from endeavouring to obtain from the purse of others, by mean compliances, any pleasures that he could not purchase from his own fund. Thus necessarily fixed in a course of temperance, the practice of other moral duties became easy to him. And indeed there was no flaw to be found in his moral character, dur-

ing his residence in the college, however low his parts might be rated.

Thus far I have shown the benefits which were probably derived to him from his want of fortune. I shall now show what advantages it is likely he derived from want of learning.

Had Swift met with sufficient encouragement to apply himself to the learning of the times; had his situation in the college been rendered easy to him, so that he might have pursued his studies with an undisturbed mind; had his emulation been roused in such a way as to make him enter into a competition with those of his own standing; it is highly probable, from the greatness of his parts, that he would have thrown all competitors at a distance. And in that case he might have acquired a fondness for those studies by which he obtained fame, however disagreeable they might have been to him at first. He might have proved the foremost logician, metaphysician, or mathematician of his time; he might have passed his life, like some of the most eminent of his fellow students, in useless speculations; and instead of writing a Laputa, he might himself have been qualified for a professorship in the academy of that airy region.

Let us only suppose Swift to have been a distinguished scholar in the university, and we may reasonably suppose also, that, circumstanced as he was, his friends would have made him sit for a fellowship there, as the surest and best provision for any one so educated. Or else, encouraged by the hopeful expectations raised from the distinguished figure he made in the college, they would have pushed all their interest to have gotten him some small preferment in the church. In either of which cases, the SWIFT of *the world* might have been lost in a university monk, or a country vicar. On the other hand,

the disgrace thrown on him in the college, deprived him of all hopes of preferment, and rendered his friends so cold to his interest, that he had no expectations of future support, but by changing the scene to another country; where only there was a field large enough for the exertion of those high talents, which yet in a great measure lay dormant in him.

And with respect to the third article, the want of friends; had it not been for that circumstance, he would not have been under a necessity of going to seek for new ones, in another country; and he might probably never have fallen into the hands of that particular friend, who was perhaps the only one living capable of forming his mind to those great things which he afterward executed.

It was in the year 1688 that Swift left Ireland; he was then in his one-and-twentieth year. Suppose him landed in a country where he was utterly unknown, and without recommendatory letters that might introduce him to the acquaintance, or procure him the assistance of any one in that country, with regard to any future plan of life. Let us stop a while, and survey the future Swift, setting out on foot from Chester, in order to go to a mother, who was utterly incapable of affording him the least assistance, as she herself was chiefly supported by presents and contributions from her relations. One can hardly imagine a situation more hopeless with regard to externals: and with respect to his own internal powers, he had yet given no proofs of those which would not rather occasion despondency in his relations, than raise in them any hopes of his being able to push his own way in the world. And indeed at that juncture perhaps there were few living less qualified than he to do any thing for his own support.

> "The world was all before him where to choose
> His place of rest, and Providence his guide."

And he seems indeed to have been then under the immediate guidance of Providence; for, hopeless as the end of such a journey might at that time have appeared, it proved in fact the means of all his future greatness.

After a residence of some months with his mother, he laid before her the uncomfortableness of his present situation, and the gloominess of his future prospects; requesting her advice what course he should pursue. She clearly saw that her son's case required the assistance of some powerful friend, and the unfortunate can seldom number such among their acquaintance. She recollected, however, that Sir William Temple's lady was her relation; and that there had been a long intimacy between Sir John Temple, father to Sir William, and the family of the Swifts in Ireland; she knew also that a cousin german of her son's, the Reverend Thomas Swift, had been chaplain to Sir William Temple, and had been provided for by him in the church, on the score of family connexions. She recommended it therefore to her son to go to Sir William, and make his case known to him.

However grating such an application might be to the proud spirit of Swift, yet, as it was his only resource, he followed his mother's advice, and soon afterwards presented himself to Sir William Temple at Sheen,* re-

* Moor Park having been purchased by Sir William Temple in 1686, he resided there when Swift came to him in 1688. At the Revolution, which happened about the end of that year, Moor Park growing unsafe, by lying in the way of both armies, Sir William came back to the house which he had given up to his son at Sheen; and, in the end of 1689, again retired to Moor Park. On a review of these *dates*, it will be seen that, in the two years which Swift passed with Sir William Temple, he resided first at Moor Park; then at Sheen, where he had the honour of familiarly conversing with King William; and afterwards at Moor Park again, where his majesty likewise visited Sir William. See the Life prefixed to Sir William Temple's Works. N.

questing his advice and assistance. Sir William was a man of too much goodness and humanity, not to take compassion on a young man born an orphan, without fortune, distressed from his cradle, and without friends or interest to push him forward in life; who at the same time had a double claim to his favour, as related by blood to a wife for whom he had the highest honour and affection; and as the offspring of a family with whom his father had lived in the closest ties of friendship. He accordingly received him cheerfully into his house, and treated him with that hospitable kindness which family connexions, and, what was still more to a generous mind, his unfortunate situation demanded of him. But yet we do not find, for a long time, that his kindness to him was increased from motives of personal regard, on a nearer acquaintance with him. It is probable that Sir William early sounded his depth of knowledge, and examined into the progress he had made in his studies; which was far from being so great as might have been expected from his course of education and time of life. The first good office that Sir William could do him, therefore, was to put him into a course of reading, in order that he might redeem lost time. Accordingly we find that Swift, during his residence with Sir William, applied himself with great assiduity to his studies; in which, for the space of eight years, he was employed, by his own account, at least eight hours a day, with but few intermissions. The first of these was occasioned by an illness, which he attributed to a surfeit of fruit, that brought on a coldness of stomach, and giddiness of head, which pursued him more or less during the remainder of his life. After two years residence at Moor Park, to which place he had removed with Sir William when the troubles were ended, his state of health was so bad, that he was advised by physicians to try the effects of his native air toward

restoring it. In pursuance of this advice he revisited Ireland; but finding himself growing worse there, he soon returned to Moor Park; where, upon the abatement of his illness, he renewed his application to his studies.

It does not appear that Sir William Temple knew any thing of the value of his young guest, till about this time; and Swift himself says that it was then he began *to grow into some confidence with him.* The little progress Swift had made in learning at his first arrival at Sheen, must have given Sir William but a mean opinion of his capacity; and the few things which he wrote during his first two years residence with him, could have given him no very high idea of his genius. For Swift had at that time so far mistaken his talents, that he tried his strength only in Pindaric odes; in which, though there appeared some vigour of mind, and efforts of an uncommon genius, yet it was apparent that it was vigour improperly exerted, and the efforts of a genius misapplied. The sentiments were strained and crowded; and the numbers irregular and harsh.* How then shall we account for the sudden change of Sir William's sentiments toward him? It could not be on account of his progress in literature, for he had not had time enough to stand highly in the opinion of so distinguished a scholar as Sir William was on that score. And indeed, with all his assiduity, it is probable that he had not then so far recovered lost time, as to be master of the learning which his standing required. The most probable conjecture is, that Swift had, at his leisure, revised and corrected his "Tale of a Tub," which was sketched out by him in the college, as was before mentioned, and now

* A few of these Odes, as being the first that have appeared of his poetical writings, are placed at the head of his Poems, in the tenth volume of this edition. N.

first showed it to Sir William. A work, bearing such a stamp of original genius, must, in a man of Sir William Temple's delicate taste, and nice discernment, have at once raised the author into a high place in his esteem, and made him look upon him afterward with very different eyes. Accordingly we find that, about this period, he trusted him with matters of great importance. He introduced him to King William, and suffered him to be present at some of their conferences.* He employed him in a commission of consequence to the king,† when he was unable to attend him himself, which required dexterity, and knowledge in the history of England. And above all, he consulted him constantly, and employed him in the revisal and correction of his own works.

In this situation Swift continued, still applying closely to his studies till the year 1692, when he went to Oxford in order to take his master's degree: to which he was admitted on the fifth of July, 1692.

* Sir William had been ambassador and mediator of a general peace at Nimeguen, before the Revolution. In this character he contracted a close intimacy with the Prince of Orange; who, after he had ascended the English throne, frequently visited him at Sheen, and took his advice in affairs of the utmost importance. Sir William being then lame of the gout, substituted Swift to attend his majesty in his walks round the gardens; who admitted him to such familiarity, that he showed him how to cut asparagus in the Dutch fashion; and once offered to make him a captain of horse. But Swift appears to have fixed his mind very early on an ecclesiastical life; and it is therefore probable that, upon declining this offer, he obtained a promise of preferment in the church; for in a letter to his uncle William, dated 1692, he says, "I am not to take orders till the king gives me a prebend." S.

† It appears that Swift had access to King William's ear at other times, beside that of his residence at Moor Park; for, in his letter concerning the repeal of the Sacramental Test, written in 1708, he says thus: "I remember, when I was last in England, I told the King, that the highest Tories we had with us (in Ireland) would make tolerable Whigs there (in England)." Now it is certain that Swift was often in England from the death of Sir William Temple to 1708. N.

From his delaying so long to take this degree, it may be concluded that Swift was determined to prepare himself for it in such a way, as might do him credit in the eyes of the university, in order to wipe off the disgrace of the former. And we may judge that his progress in academic studies had been very small, when it required four years application before he thought himself qualified to appear at Oxford with that view. Nor can there be any other reason assigned for his not having done it sooner, as he was of sufficient standing to have applied for his master's degree in the first year of his residence at Moor Park. From the satisfaction he expresses at the behaviour of the university of Oxford, and the civilities he met with there, it is probable that he was not undistinguished as a scholar; and that he found the first end he proposed by his studies, fully answered.

From Oxford he paid a visit to his mother, and then returned to Moor Park. Not with a design of continuing there, for he now wanted to enter into the world; but in expectation of getting some preferment by means of Sir William's interest with the king, which he had promised to exert in his behalf, and had already indeed obtained an assurance of that sort from his majesty. But Swift at this time entertained some suspicion, that Sir William was not *so forward* on the occasion as *he could wish;* and the reason he assigned for it was, that sir William was apprehensive *Swift would leave him*, and *upon some accounts, he thought him a little necessary to him.** Swift was indeed by this time become very necessary to a man in the decline of life, generally in an ill state of health, and often tortured with the most excruciating disorders. The loss of such a companion as Swift, after such a long domestic intimacy, would have

* Thus Swift expresses himself in a letter to his uncle William, dated Moor Park, Nov. 29, 1692. S.

been like the loss of a limb. Besides, as he seems to have had nothing so much at heart in the latter part of his life, as the leaving behind him a corrected copy of all his writings, done under his own inspection, he could not bear the thought that Swift should leave him, till that point was accomplished. He had already experienced the use that he was of to him in that respect, and knew that his place was not easily to be supplied. And his ill state of health occasioned the work to advance but slowly, as it was only during the more lucid intervals he applied to it. On these accounts, Sir William was in no haste to procure any preferment for his young friend, to the great mortification of Swift. In this uneasy state he continued at Moor Park two years longer, and then, quite wearied out with fruitless expectation,* he determined at all events to leave Sir William, and take his chance in the world.† When this his resolution was made known to Sir William, he received it with evident marks of displeasure; but that he might seem to fulfil his promise to Swift, of making some provision for him, he coldly told him, "that since he was so impatient, it was not at that time in his power to do any thing more for him, than to give him an employment, then vacant in the office of the Rolls in Ireland, to the value of somewhat more than a hundred pounds a year." Swift immediately replied, "that since he had now an opportunity of living, without being driven into the church for a maintenance, he was resolved to go to Ireland to take holy orders." To comprehend the full force of this reply, it will be necessary to know that Sir William was well acquainted with Swift's intention of going into the church, from

* He received frequent remittances from his uncle William and his cousin William Swift, during his residence at Moor Park. N.

† See his account of this, in his letter to his cousin Deane Swift, dated June 3, 1694. S.

which he had been hitherto restrained only by a scruple of appearing to enter upon that holy office, rather from motives of necessity, than choice. He therefore saw through Sir William's design, in making him the offer of an employment which he was sure would not be accepted by Swift. With great readiness and spirit therefore, he made use of this circumstance, at once to show a proper resentment of the indelicacy of Sir William's behaviour toward him; and to assign an unanswerable motive for immediately carrying his long-formed resolution into act. Their parting on this occasion was not without manifest displeasure on the side of Sir William, and some degree of resentment, not ill-founded, on the part of Swift.

He procured a recommendation to Lord Capel, then lord deputy of Ireland, from whom is uncertain, but it may be presumed, from the smallness of the provision made for him in consequence of it, that it was not a powerful one; and therefore, that Sir William Temple had no share in it. He went over to Ireland, and was ordained in September, 1694, being then almost 27 years old. Soon after this, Lord Capel gave him the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, worth about one hundred pounds a year.* To this place Swift immediately repaired, in order to reside there, and discharge the duties of his office. He now for the first time enjoyed the sweets of independence; but these sweets were not of long duration, as he soon saw that the scene of his independence could not possibly afford him any other satisfaction in life. He found himself situate in an obscure corner of an obscure country, ill accommodated with the conveniences of life, without a friend, a companion, or any conversation that he could relish. What a contrast was

* This preferment, in 1786, was worth about 170*l.* a year. N.

this to the delightful scene at Moor Park!† replete with all the beauties, and adorned with every elegance, that could charm the senses, or captivate the fancy; and where the mind had a continual feast of the most rational and refined conversation. But still the spirit of Swift so far prized liberty above all other blessings in life, that had he had no other alternative, he would certainly have preferred that uncomfortable situation, to any state of dependence. But he now began to feel his own strength, and, conscious of his powers, could not conceive they were meant for so narrow a sphere as that of a small country living. He felt an irresistible impulse once more to launch into the world, and make his way to a station more suited to his disposition. In this temper of mind, he received accounts from his friends, that Sir William Temple's ill-founded resentment had subsided soon after his departure, and that he was often heard to lament the loss of his company. Soon after, upon receiving a kind letter from Sir William himself, with an invitation to Moor Park, his resolution was at once fixed. He determined upon returning to England, but first resolved to resign his living. As there were some singular circumstances attending this resignation, I shall relate them exactly as I received them from a gentleman of veracity, who declared he had the account from Swift himself. He said, that soon after he had come to this determination, he was taking his customary walk, and met an elderly clergyman riding along the road. After the usual salutation, he fell into discourse with him; and was so pleased with what passed between them, that he invited him to dinner, and easily prevailed on him to be his guest for a day or two. During this time Swift found that he was a man of great simplicity of

† In one of his letters, vol. II. p. 453, Sir William Temple says, "I spend all the time I possibly can at Sheen, and never saw any thing pleasanter than my garden." N.

manners, good sense, some learning, and unaffected piety. And upon inquiring into his circumstances, learned that he had only a curacy of forty pounds a year, for the maintenance of a wife and eight children. Swift lamented his situation, and told him "that he had some interest which he would exert in his behalf, and endeavour to procure him a living, if he would only lend him his black mare to carry him to Dublin;" for Swift was not at that time possessed of a horse. The clergyman readily consented, and went home on foot; promising to meet him any time he should appoint on his return. Swift went to town, and represented the poor curate's case to his patron in such strong terms, as soon prevailed on him to consent that Swift's living should, upon his resignation, which was proposed at the same time, be made over to him. Nor was this a difficult point to accomplish, as, beside motives of humanity, it was for the interest of the patron to accept of an old incumbent of near sixty years of age, in the room of a young one of twenty-seven. Swift, having despatched this business, returned as soon as possible to the country, and gave notice to the old clergyman to meet him. He found him at his door on his arrival, and immediately upon their going into the parlour, put the presentation into his hand, desiring him to read it. Swift said, that while he was doing so, he kept his eyes steadily fixed on the old man's face, in which the joy of finding that it was a presentation to a living, was visibly expressed: but when he came to that part of the writing which mentioned the name of the living, and found that it was Swift's own which he had resigned in his favour, he looked at him for some time in silence, with such a mixed emotion of astonishment and gratitude in his countenance, as presented to Swift one of the most striking pictures of the mind expressed in the face, he had ever seen;

and he said, that he never before had felt such exquisite pleasure of mind as he did in that hour. Nor is this to be wondered at, since it was the first opportunity he ever had of letting loose that spirit of generosity and benevolence, whose greatness and vigour, when pent up in his own breast by poverty and dependence, served only as an evil spirit to torment him. And when we consider the nature of this action in all its circumstances, that the object of it was the worthy father of a numerous family, for whom it was impossible he could make any provision from so poor an income as he then possessed; that the motive to it was pure disinterested benevolence, without any alloy, as the man was a stranger to him, and therefore there could be no incentive to it from ties of blood or friendship; that the gift was such as would brighten the latter days of a well-spent life, though hitherto clouded with indigence, and make a whole family happy; and lastly, that this gift was not like that of a wealthy man, who might easily spare it without feeling the loss, but the whole visible income Swift possessed for present and future support, the sole means in his power of preserving that independence which he had so long sighed for, and at last with difficulty obtained: it is no wonder, I say, all these circumstances considered, that the great mind of Swift should have exulted in so glorious an opportunity, of paying off at once, the large debt, which, from the narrowness of his circumstances, he had been contracting all his life, to benevolence.

After seeing his successor established in the living, he soon settled his affairs, and set out for Dublin, in his way to England. The old man, before his departure, pressed him to accept of his black mare, which was the most valuable of his possessions, as a small token of his gratitude; and Swift was too well acquainted with the semi-

bility of a generous heart, under obligations, to hurt him by a refusal.

With about fourscore pounds in his pocket, which by his own account was all his worldly wealth at that time, Swift once more embarked for England, and arrived at Moor Park in the year 1695, after somewhat more than a year's absence.

To all appearance he had but little bettered his condition by his journey to Ireland. He was now returned to the same state of dependence, which had before proved so irksome to him that he determined to break away from it, at all hazards. But there were several circumstances which contributed to make his present state, though still dependent, of a very different nature from the former. In the first place, his situation now was not the effect of necessity or constraint, but the object of his choice. In the next, he was highly gratified with an opportunity of showing his regard and attachment to Sir William, by returning voluntarily to him, when it was in his power to have lived independently, though he scorned to be compelled into it from motives of necessity. Then, by so readily complying with Sir William's request, and giving up all his visible support in order to do so, he had laid him under such an obligation as entitled him to all future favours, which might be in his power to bestow.* Accordingly we find, that Swift's mind being now perfectly at ease, and Sir William considering his return, with all its circumstances, in the most obliging light, these two great men lived together to the time of Sir William's death, in the most perfect harmony, and with marks of mutual confidence and esteem. Nor do we find during

* That Swift resigned his preferment in Ireland on the promise of having a better here, appears by a letter from his sister, dated May 26, 1699. N.

that space, which was almost four years, that Swift was at all pressing on the score of preferment promised him; which, had he been so, he would certainly have obtained; but, from a true generosity of mind, he seemed determined to stay with his friend in order to cheer his latter days, which were embittered by illness and pain, and required such a cordial to make life supportable; and to lay aside all views with regard to himself, till his friend's death should release him from the benevolent task, and leave him at liberty to pursue his own interest.

During this space Swift's time was fully and usefully employed.* He devoted eight hours a day, as before, to the prosecution of his studies.‡ His function as a clergy-

* Several copious extracts from Cyprian, Irenæus, Sleidan's Commentaries, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Diodorus Siculus, Thucydides, and Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, were found among his papers, which appear, by memoranda in his own hand-writing, to have been made while he lived with Sir William Temple. D. S.

‡ As many may be curious to know of what nature his studies were, the following account of the books which he read in one year, preserved in his own hand-writing, may afford some satisfaction. N.

From Jan. 7. 1696-7.

Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. *fol.*
Sleidan's Commentaries abstracted, *fol.*
Council of Trent, abstracted, *fol.*
Virgil, *bis.*
Horace, 9 vols.
Sir W. Temple's Memoirs.
——————Introduction.
Camden's Elizabeth.
Prince Arthur.
Histoire de Chypre.
Voyage de Syam.
Voiture.
Mémoires de Maurier.
Lucius Florus, *ter.*
Collier's Essays, 2 vols.
Count Gabalis.
Sir John Davies, of the Soul.
Conformité de Religion, &c.
Dialogues des Morts, 2 vols.
Lucretius, *ter.*
Histoire de Mr. Constance.
Histoire d'Ethiopie.
Histoire de Cotes de, &c.
Diodorus Siculus, abstr. *fol.*
Cyprian & Irenæus, abstr. *fol.*
Voyage de Meroce, &c.
Ælian, Vol. I.
Homer, Iliad, & Odyss.
Cicero's Epistles.
Bernier's Grand Mogul, 2 vols.
Burnet's Hist. of Reform. *fol.*
Petronius Arbiter.
Oeuvres mêlées, 5 vols.

From Jan. 7, 1697-8.

Thucydides, by Hobbes, abstr. *fol.*
Theophrasti Characteres.
Vossius de Sibyllinis.

man was confined to a private family, but he was regular in the discharge of it, having stated times in the morning and evening for their meeting together at prayers. He took upon himself the office of preceptor to a young lady, niece to Sir William Temple, residing in his house, teaching her English, and directing her in a proper course of reading. At the same time Miss Johnson, afterward so well known by the name of Stella, was a fellow student with the other young lady, and partook of the benefit of the same instruction. Miss Johnson was daughter to Sir William Temple's steward; and was at that time about fourteen years of age, beautiful in her person, and possessed of such fine talents, as made Swift take great delight in cultivating and forming her mind. At this time too he writ his famous Digressions to be found in the "Tale of a Tub;" and the "Battle of the Books," in honour of his great and learned friend.

In the year 1699, Sir William Temple died, leaving Swift a legacy, and the care, trust, and advantage, of publishing his posthumous writings.* As he had also obtained a promise from King William, that he would give Swift a prebend either of Canterbury or Westminster, he thought he had made a sufficient return for all his merits toward him, and that he left him in the high road to preferment.

Before we accompany Swift into the world, let us review the manner of his passing his life, from the time that we stopped to survey him on his way to Leicester, when,

* Such was the love and attention which Swift showed to this great man, that in his last illness he kept a daily register of the variations which appeared in his constitution, from July 1, 1698, to the 27th of January following, when he concludes with this note, "He died at one o'clock in the morning, and with him all that was great and good among men." This paper is intituled, "Journal d'estat de Mr. T— devant sa Mort." N.

forlorn and hopeless as his condition was, the unseen hand of Providence was guiding him to the means of all his future greatness, in placing him under the hospitable roof of Sir William Temple. However bounteous nature had been, in bestowing on Swift extraordinary talents, yet were they of such a kind, as required much time and application to bring them to perfection, and fit them to answer their destined ends. He had missed the usual season of cultivating those talents, but at the same time he had escaped the danger of their being perverted and misapplied. His mind had not been strait-laced into that fashionable shape which seemed most beautiful to the eyes of pedantry, but was suffered to reach its full growth according to the course of nature. Thus did it attain an unusual size, vigour, and ease. He did not enter seriously upon his studies till his understanding was mature; thus all that he read was to some useful end, nor was his memory charged with those important trifles, about which the scholastic world is generally so busy. He read the classics at a time when he could penetrate into their profoundest depths, and enrich himself with the spoils of their hidden treasures; not at the usual season of boyishness, when the weak sight can be regaled only with such flowery beauties as are pointed out to it on the surface. Thinking for himself as a man, he soon saw that no science was so valuable to man, as that of human nature. He judged that the best way to obtain a general knowledge of that, was from history; and a more particular view of it, from studying mankind. He could not possibly have been better situate than at Moor Park, to have made observations on the higher and more refined life; and he studiously sought all opportunities, during his little excursions and journies, to make himself acquainted with low life; often preferring the conveyance of wagons, and their inns, to those of coaches. Scenes of middling life must, of course,

often fall in his way; and where, to a boundless curiosity, there was added from nature an uncommon penetration, it is no wonder he became such an adept in the knowledge of man, and of the world. A science essentially necessary to him to make that figure which he afterwards did in life.

His situation at Sir William Temple's was indeed in every respect the happiest that could have been chosen, to prepare this great genius for the complicated part he was to act in the world. Swift was to figure as a writer, as a politician, as a patriot. And where could a young man have found such a director and assistant in fitting him for the performance of these several parts, as Sir William Temple; who was himself one of the finest writers, one of the ablest statesmen, and the truest lover of his country, that had been produced in that, or perhaps in any other age?

It was from the frequent revisal of that great man's works under his own inspection, that Swift acquired his first lights with regard to propriety and purity of style, which he was afterward allowed to carry to a greater degree of perfection than any English writer whatsoever. The high opinion he entertained of Sir William's works in this respect, was known to me from the following circumstance. When I was an undergraduate in the college, he recommended it to me to lay aside some portion of time every day for the study of English; and when I asked him what authors he would advise me to read, he immediately replied, "Sir William Temple; not," said he, "his latter works, written during or after his long residence abroad, for his style became then somewhat corrupted by the introduction of newfangled foreign words and phrases, which he fell into by conversing and writing so much in foreign languages; but such of his works as were written before his going ambassador to Nimeguen.

And after him," added he, "I do not know any writer in our language that I would recommend to you as a model." I had upon this occasion a fair opportunity of paying him a just compliment; but I knew his detestation of any thing that carried the appearance of flattery with it, too well, to make mention of his own works to him.

With respect to politics, it must be allowed that there was no man of that age better qualified than Sir William Temple, not only to instruct Swift in the general system of politics pursued in the several states of Europe, but likewise to lay open to him all the arcana of state, all the most secret springs of action, with regard to public affairs, both foreign and domestic, during his time; in which he himself had borne so principal a part: and with regard to patriotism, Sir William Temple must be allowed to have been the most shining example of that noblest of virtues produced in that age; as he passed all the vigorous parts of his life in the most indefatigable endeavours for the good of his country, upon the most disinterested principles; never having received any reward, nor seeming solicitous about any, for a long series of the most important services rendered to his king and country, often at his own expense; and at last nobly declining the highest station to which a subject could be raised, when offered to him, as it was at a time of life, when he found the vigour of his mind so far abated, that he did not think himself equal to the arduous employment of first minister. And with respect to private virtue, there could not have been a more illustrious example placed before the eyes of a young man, than that of an old courtier, who, during the dissolute reign of Charles II. had singly at court maintained his integrity unshaken, and his morals untainted.

Under the direction of such a tutor, such a guide, under the influence of such an example; how happily was

the most dangerous season of life passed in studious retirement, far from the dangers and temptations of a corrupt world.

When we reflect that Swift was first brought up in the school of adversity, (who though she be a severe mistress, yet does she generally make the best scholars,) and that he was thence removed to another Lyceum, where presided a sage, in whom were blended Socratic wisdom, stoical virtue, and Epicurean elegance; we must allow his lot to have been most happily cast for forming a great and distinguished character in life. Nor did he fail to answer the high expectation that might be raised of a young man endowed by nature with uncommon talents, which were improved to the utmost by a singular felicity of situation, into which fortune had thrown him.

Let us now accompany Swift into the world, from entering into the which he was happily detained till his thirty-first year His mind was now stored with variety of useful knowledge; his understanding had arrived at its utmost maturity and strength; his fancy was in its prime; and his heart, long filled with the noblest affections toward God, and toward man, swelled with impatience for proper opportunities of discharging his duty to both. With such abilities, and such dispositions, behold him now entering on the great stage of the world, to perform the character allotted to him in the drama of life, that of an able, bold, and unwearied champion, in the cause of religion, liberty, and virtue.

SECTION II.

From the Death of Sir William Temple to the Time of his Introduction to Lord Oxford.

UPON the death of Sir William Temple, Swift immediately removed to London; where his first care was to discharge the trust reposed in him, that of publishing a correct edition of Sir William Temple's works; which he effected as speedily as possible, and presented them to King William, with a short dedication written by himself, as publisher.* He thought he could not pay a more acceptable compliment to the king, than by dedicating to him the posthumous works of a man, for whom, from his earliest days, when Prince of Orange, he had professed the highest friendship and esteem; and with whom he lived, after his arrival at the crown of England, on the most intimate footing; frequently visiting Sir William in his retreat, after he had found his endeavours vain to draw him out of it, by the tempting offer of making him his first minister. There was another reason too, which must have made the publication of these works peculiarly acceptable to the king; which was, that some of the most important transactions mentioned in those writings, were relative to himself; and many personal anecdotes with regard to him, were now brought to light, which could have been disclosed by no one but Sir William, and which put the character of that truly heroic prince in a high point of view. On these accounts Swift thought that such a dedication was not only the politest method of reminding the king of his promise made to Sir William Temple in his behalf, but the likeliest means of having it speedily carried into execution. However, as he did not find the event answer his expectation, he applied to that monarch by memorial.

* See this in the third volume of the present collection. N.

But after waiting some time, he found that his memorial had produced no better effect than his dedication. He therefore readily accepted of an offer made to him by Lord Berkeley, then appointed one of the lords justices of Ireland, to attend him to that kingdom, in the double capacity of chaplain, and private secretary.

This total neglect of his promise, made in consequence of a last, and it may be called, a dying request, of his particular friend, seems to bear not a little hard on the character of King William. But it is to be observed that Swift was the most unfit man in the world to solicit a point of that sort in due form, without which nothing is to be done at court. He thought that his showing himself there, or at most the dedication of Sir William's works, was all that was necessary to be done on his part. And with regard to the memorial, he himself exonerated King William so far, as to say often that he believed it never was received. For he put it into the hands of a certain nobleman, who professed great regard to him, and offered to present it to the king, and second it with all his might; but Swift had afterward reason to believe that he had sunk it, and said not a word of the matter.

Swift acted as secretary to Lord Berkeley, till they arrived at Dublin; when he was supplanted in that office by one Bush, who had by some means ingratiated himself with my lord; and representing the office of secretary as an improper one for a clergyman, he was appointed in Swift's room. Lord Berkeley making the best apology to him that he could, and at the same time promising to make him amends, by bestowing on him the first good church preferment that should fall in his gift. Swift was not a man to be treated in this manner with impunity. Accordingly, he gave free scope to his resentment, in a severe copy of verses, which placed the governor and his new-made secretary in a most ridiculous point of light,

and which was every where handed about to their no small mortification. Soon after this the rich deanery of Derry became vacant, and as it was the Earl of Berkeley's turn to present to it, Swift applied to him for it upon the strength of his promise.* Lord Berkeley said, "that Bush had been beforehand with him, and had got the promise of it for another.† Upon seeing Swift's indignation rise at this, my lord, who began to be in no small fear of him, said, "that the matter might still be settled if he would talk with Bush." Swift immediately found out the secretary, who very frankly told him "that he was to get a thousand pound for it, and if he would lay down the money, he should have the preference." To which Swift, enraged to the utmost degree, at an offer which he considered as the highest insult, and done evidently with Lord Berkeley's participation, made no other answer but this: "God

* Swift was set aside on this occasion, from the suggestion of Dr. King, then Bishop of Derry, that he was too young. "I have no objection to Mr. Swift," says the bishop. "I know him to be a sprightly, ingenious young man: but, instead of residing, I dare say, he will be eternally flying backward and forward to London; and therefore I entreat, that he may be provided for in some other place." But, as if his stars had destined him a parallel revenge he lived to see the bishop of Derry afterwards set aside on account of *age*. That prelate had been archbishop of Dublin many years, and had been long celebrated for his wit and learning, when Dr. Lindsay died. Upon his death, archbishop King immediately laid claim to the primacy, as a preferment to which he had a right from his station in the see of Dublin, and from his acknowledged character in the church. Neither of these pretentions were prevalent: he was looked upon as *too far advanced in years* to be removed. The reason alleged was as mortifying as the refusal itself: but the archbishop had no opportunity of showing his resentment, except to the new primate, Dr. Boulter, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining-parlour, without rising from his chair; and to whom he made an apology, by saying in his usual strain of wit, and with his usual sneering countenance, "My lord, I am certain your grace will forgive me, because, *you know I am too old to rise*." See Orrery's Remarks. W. B.

† The deanery was given to Dr. Boulter. N.

confound you both for a couple of scoundrels." With these words he immediately quitted the room, and turned his back on the castle, determined to appear there no more. But Lord Berkeley was too conscious of the ill treatment he had given him, and too fearful of the resentment of an exasperated genius, not to endeavour to pacify him. He therefore immediately presented him with the rectory of Agher, and the vicarages of Laracor, and Rath-beggan, then vacant, in the diocese of Meath.* Though these livings united did not make up a third of the deanery in value;† and though from the large promises, which had been made him, he had reason to expect much greater preferment, yet, considering the specimens already given of the performance of those promises, Swift thought it most prudent to accept of those livings, dropping all future expectations from that quarter. Nor did he afterward estrange himself from Lord Berkeley's family, but continued still in his office of chaplain; to which he seems to have been chiefly induced, from the great honour and respect which he had for his excellent lady; whose virtues he has celebrated in so masterly a manner, in the Introduction to the "Project for the Advancement of Religion."

From this behaviour to Lord Berkeley, we may judge how little Swift was qualified to rise at court, in the usual

* He was instituted March 22, 1699-1700. N.

† Not even after his purchase (for 260*l.*) of the rectorial tithes of one part of the parish, called Effernock, which he gave by his last will to his successors for ever. In his account-book he reckons the annual value of the said union about 230*l.*; and within the first year, from March, 1699, to Nov. 1, 1700, the expense of his titles, rent, curate, &c. amounted to 117*l.* He got the prebend of Dunlavan, in the chapter of St. Patrick, Sept. 23, 1700. Being in actual attendance as domestic chaplain to the Earl of Berkeley, he had a dispensation from the bishop of Meath, that year, in May, for not reading his assent and consent at Laracor and Rath-beggan until the month of June, at which time he went through the necessary form. N

way of obtaining preferment; and we may estimate the greatness of his spirit, by the degree of resentment shown to the man, in consequence of ill treatment, upon whom all his hopes of preferment then rested.

It was at this time that Swift's true humorous vein in poetry began to display itself, in several little pieces, written for the private entertainment of Lord Berkeley's family; among which was that incomparable piece of low humour, called "The humble petition of Mrs. Frances Harris," &c.

When Lord Berkeley quitted the government of Ireland, Swift went to reside on his living at Laracor; where he lived for some time in the constant and strict discharge of his duty.

It was about this time that Mrs. Johnson (the afterward celebrated Stella) arrived in Ireland, accompanied by another lady of the name of Dingley, who was related to the family of the Temples. Sir William Temple had bequeathed to Mrs. Johnson a legacy of a thousand pounds, in consideration of her father's faithful services, and her own rising merits. After Sir William's death, she lived for some time with Mrs. Dingley, a lady who had but a small annuity to support her. In this situation Swift advised his lovely pupil to settle in Ireland, as the interest of money was at that time ten per cent. in that kingdom; and considering the cheapness of provisions, her income there would afford her a genteel support, instead of a mere subsistence in England: for the same reason also he recommended it to Mrs. Dingley to accompany her. This proposal was very agreeable to both the ladies. To the latter, as she had scarce a sufficient income to subsist on in England, though managed with the utmost frugality; to the former, that she might be near her tutor, whose lessons, however they might dwell on her memory, had sunk still deeper into her heart. These ladies, soon after their arrival, took a lodging at Trim,

a village near Laracor, which was the place of Swift's residence. The conversation of this amiable woman, who, by his own account, had the most and finest accomplishments of any person he had ever known of either sex, contributed not a little to sweeten his retirement, which otherwise must soon have become burthensome to so active a spirit. But though Stella's beauty was at that time arrayed in all the pride of *blooming eighteen*,* yet it is certain that he never dropped the least hint that might induce her to consider him in the light of a lover. In his whole deportment he still maintained the character of a tutor, a guardian, and a friend; but he so studiously avoided the appearance of any other attachment to her, that he never saw, or conversed with her, but in the presence of some third person. The truth is, that Swift at that time knew not what the passion of love was; his fondness for Stella was only that of an affectionate parent to a favourite child; and he had long entertained a dislike to matrimony. He seems to have been under the dominion of a still more powerful passion, that of ambition; a passion which, from his boyish days, had taken strong hold of his mind, and never afterward forsook him, till all hopes of its being farther gratified had failed.

Urged by this restless spirit, he every year paid a visit to England,† absenting himself for some months from the duties of his parish, and the charming conversation of the

* Stella is said by most writers to have been in her 16th year when she first went to Ireland in 1699; but Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Deane Swift both say she was 18. As her name is not to be found in the parish register, which begins in 1682, they probably are right. In 1683 is an entry of *Anne*, the daughter of Edward Johnson, baptised; but Mrs. Johnson's name was Esther. See Lysons, II. 453. N.

† In April, 1701, Swift went to London; returned to Ireland in September following; took his doctor's degree on 16 Feb. after, which cost him in fees and treat 44*l.* and upwards. In April, 1702, he went to Leicester, to see his mother; in May, to London; in July, to Moor Park; in October, to Ireland. The next year, in November, 1703,

amiable Stella, in hopes of finding some favourable opportunity of distinguishing himself, and pushing his fortune in the world.

His first visit to London, from the time he had taken possession of his living, was in the year 1701. At which time he found the public in a ferment, occasioned by the impeachment of the Earls of Portland and Orford, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax, by the house of commons. Upon this occasion Swift wrote and published his first political tract, entitled, "A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions in Athens and Rome," in which he displayed great knowledge in ancient history, as well as skill in the English constitution, and the state of parties. The author of this piece concealed his name with the greatest precaution, nor was he at that time personally known to any of the nobles, in whose favour it seems to have been written; and indeed, from the spirit of the piece itself, we may see that Swift was induced to write it from other motives than such as were private and personal. As no one understood the English constitution better, so no one loved it more, or would have gone greater lengths to preserve it, than Swift. He saw clearly that the balance, upon the due preservation of which the very life of our constitution depends, had been for some time in a fluctuating state, and that the popular scale was likely to preponderate. All the horrors of anarchy, and the detested times of a Cromwell, came fresh into his mind. He therefore thought it his duty to lay before the public the fatal consequences of the encroachments then making by the commons upon the other two branches of the legislature; which he executed in a most masterly manner, with great force of argument, as-

he went to Leicester; thence to London; and May 30, 1704, returned to Dublin, whence he went directly to Laracor. This he calls, in his accompt book, "his sixteenth voyage." N.

sisted by the most striking examples of other states in similar circumstances; and at the same time in a style and method so perspicuous, as to render the whole clear to common capacities. Another reason for supposing that Swift wrote this wholly from a principle of duty, is, that the author deals throughout in generals, excepting only one oblique compliment to the four lords who were impeached by the commons, which at the same time served to strengthen his general argument. The truth is, Swift, at that time, was of no party; he sided with the whigs merely because he thought the tories were carrying matters too far, and by the violence of their proceedings were likely to overturn that happy balance in our state, so lately settled by the glorious revolution; to which there was not a faster friend in England than himself. However, it is certain that it remained for some time a profound secret to the world, who the author of that admirable piece was. And the first discovery made of it was by Swift himself, upon the following occasion. After his return to Ireland, he happened to fall into company with Bishop Sheridan,* where this much talked of pamphlet became the topic of conversation. The bishop insisted, "that it was written by Bishop Burnet, and that there was not another man living equal to it."† Swift maintained the contrary; at first by arguments drawn from difference of style, manner, &c. and afterward, upon being urged, said, that to his certain knowledge it was not written by Burnet. "Then pray," said the bishop, "who writ it?" Swift answered, "My lord, I writ it." As this was the only instance in his life

* Dr. William Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore, 1681; deprived 1691; died Oct. 1, 1711. N.

† When Swift seemed to doubt Burnet's right to the work, he was told by the bishop that he "was a young man;" and still persisting to doubt, that he was "a very young man." JOHNSON.

that Swift was ever known to have owned directly any piece as his, it is to be supposed that the confession was drawn from him by the heat of argument.

Early in the ensuing spring, King William died; and Swift, on his next visit to London, found Queen Anne upon the throne. It was generally thought, upon this event, that the tory party would have had the ascendent; but, contrary to all expectation, the whigs had managed matters so well, as to get entirely into the queen's confidence, and to have the whole administration of affairs in their hands. Swift's friends were now in power; and the whigs in general, knowing him to be the author of the Discourse on the Contests, &c. considered themselves as much obliged to him, and looked upon him as fast to their party. The chiefs accordingly applied to him for his assistance in the measures which they were taking; and there is no doubt but he had now a fair opening for gratifying his ambition to the utmost, only by joining heartily with them, and exerting his talents on their side. But great as his ambition was, he would not have purchased its highest gratifications at the expense of his principles; nor would all the wealth and honours of the realm, accumulated, have tempted him to act contrary to the conviction of his mind. Upon examining into their new political system, which varied in many points from that of the old whigs, he considered several of their measures as of a dangerous tendency to the constitution. Notwithstanding, therefore, both his interest and personal attachments were of their side, he declined all overtures made to him by the heads of the whiggish party, and after some time determined to have no concern in their affairs. This conduct in Swift was so unexpected, for they had all along counted upon him as a sure man, that it met with the same sort of resentment from the whigs, as if he had deserted their party, and gone over to the enemy;

though Swift, in reality, so little liked the proceedings of either, that for several years he kept himself entirely a neutral, without meddling in any shape in politics.

The chief reason that made him decline any connexion with the whigs at that time, was, their open profession of low church principles; and under the specious name of toleration, their encouragement of fanatics and sectaries of all kinds to join them. But what above all most shocked him, was, their inviting all Deists, Freethinkers, Atheists, Jews, and Infidels, to be of their party, under pretence of moderation, and allowing a general liberty of conscience. As Swift was in his heart a man of true religion, he could not have borne, even in his private character, to have mixed with such a motley crew. But when we consider his principles in his political capacity, that he looked upon the church of England, as by law established, to be the main pillar of our newly erected constitution, he could not, consistently with the character of a good citizen, join with those who considered it more as an ornament, than a support to the edifice; who could therefore look on with compo sure while they saw it undermining, or even open the gate to a blind multitude, to try, like Sampson, their strength against it, and consider it only as sport. With such a party, neither his religious nor political principles would suffer him to join; and with regard to the tories, as is usual in the violence of factions, they had run into opposite extremes, equally dangerous to the state. He has fully given us his own sentiments upon the state of parties in those times, in these words: "Now, because it is a point of difficulty to choose an exact middle between two ill extremes; it may be worth inquiring in the present case, which of these a wise and good man would rather seem to avoid: taking therefore their own good and ill characters of each other, with due abatements,

and allowances for partiality and passion; I should think, that in order to preserve the constitution entire in the church and state, whoever has a true value for both, would be sure to avoid the extremes of whig, for the sake of the former; and the extremes of tory, on account of the latter."

This was a maxim, which, however well founded, was not likely to influence the opinion of many, amid the violence of party rage; however, as Swift was firmly persuaded of the truth of it, it was by that principle he governed his conduct, though on that account he stood almost alone.

Finding therefore that he could be of no use to the public in his political capacity, while things remained in the same state, he turned his thoughts wholly to other matters. He resided for the greatest part of the year at his living, in the performance of his parochial duties, in which no one could be more exact; and once a year he paid a visit to his mother at Leicester, passing some time also in London, to take a view of the state of things, and watching some favourable crisis.

During this period, Swift's pen was hardly ever employed, except in writing sermons; and he does not seem to have indulged himself even in any sallies of fancy, for some years, excepting only the "Meditation on a Broomstick," and the "Tritical Essay on the Faculties of the Mind," both written in the year 1703. As Swift has been much censured for writing the former of these pieces, on account of the ridicule contained in it of the style and manner of so great and pious a man as Mr. Boyle, it may not be improper here to relate an anecdote which I had from undoubtedly good authority, with regard to the occasion of writing that piece, and which will in a great measure exonerate Swift from the charge

brought against him on that account.* In the yearly visits which he made to London, during his stay there, he passed much of his time at Lord Berkeley's, officiating as chaplain to the family, and attending Lady Berkeley in her private devotions. After which, the doctor, by her desire, used to read to her some moral or religious discourse. The countess had at this time taken a great liking to Mr. Boyle's Meditations, and was determined to go through them in that manner; but as Swift had by no means the same relish for that kind of writing which her ladyship had, he soon grew weary of the task; and a whim coming into his head, resolved to get rid of it in a way which might occasion some sport in the family; for which they had as high a relish as himself. The next time he was employed in reading one of these Meditations, he took an opportunity of conveying away the book, and dexterously inserted a leaf, on which he had written his own "Meditation on a Broomstick;" after which, he took care to have the book restored to its proper place, and in his next attendance on my lady, when he was desired to proceed to the next Meditation, Swift opened upon the place where the leaf had been inserted, and with great composure of countenance read the title, "A Meditation on a Broomstick." Lady Berkeley, a little surprised at the oddity of the title, stopped him, repeating the words, "A Meditation on a Broomstick! Bless me, what a strange subject! But there is no knowing what useful lessons of instruction this wonderful man may draw, from things apparently the most trivial. Pray let us hear what he says upon it." Swift then, with an inflexible gravity of countenance, proceeded to read the Meditation, in the

* This anecdote came from Lady Betty Germain, daughter of Lady Berkeley; and was communicated to me by the late Lady Lambert, an intimate of Lady Betty's. S.

same solemn tone which he had used in delivering the former. Lady Berkeley, not at all suspecting a trick, in the fulness of her prepossession, was every now and then, during the reading of it, expressing her admiration of this extraordinary man, who could draw such fine moral reflections from so contemptible a subject; with which, though Swift must have been inwardly not a little tickled, yet he preserved a most perfect composure of features, so that she had not the least room to suspect any deceit. Soon after, some company coming in, Swift pretended business, and withdrew, foreseeing what was to follow. Lady Berkeley, full of the subject, soon entered upon the praises of those heavenly Meditations of Mr. Boyle. "But," said she, "the doctor has been just reading one to me, which has surprised me more than all the rest." One of the company asked which of the Meditations she meant. She answered directly, in the simplicity of her heart, "I mean, that excellent Meditation on a Broomstick." The company looked at each other with some surprise, and could scarce refrain from laughing. But they all agreed that they had never heard of such a Meditation before. "Upon my word," said my lady, "there it is, look into that book, and convince yourselves." One of them opened the book, and found it there indeed, but in Swift's handwriting; upon which a general burst of laughter ensued; and my lady, when the first surprise was over, enjoyed the joke as much as any of them; saying, "What a vile trick has that rogue played me! But it is his way, he never balks his humour in any thing." The affair ended in a great deal of harmless mirth, and Swift, you may be sure, was not asked to proceed any farther in the Meditations. Thus we see that his original intention in writing this piece, was not to ridicule the great Robert Boyle, but only to furnish occasion for

a great deal of innocent mirth on Lady Berkeley's enthusiasm, and simplicity of heart; and at the same time to get rid of the disagreeable task of reading to her writings which were not at all to his taste. And that it afterward got out into the world, was owing to the eagerness of those who were acquainted with the Berkeley family, to procure copies of a piece of such exquisite humour. This was the case indeed in almost all the small things afterward written by Swift, scarce any of which were published by himself, but stole into the world in that way.

Though the greatness of Swift's talents was known to many in private life, and his company and conversation much sought after and admired, yet was his name hitherto little known in the republic of letters. The only pieces which he had then published, were, "The Battle of the Books," and "The Contests and Dissentions in Athens and Rome," and both without a name. Nor was he personally known to any of the wits of the age, excepting Mr. Congreve, and one or two more, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance at Sir William Temple's. The knot of wits used at this time to assemble at Button's coffee-house; and I had a singular account of Swift's first appearance there from Ambrose Phillips, who was one of Mr. Addison's little senate. He said that they had for several successive days observed a strange clergyman come into the coffee-house, who seemed utterly unacquainted with any of those who frequented it; and whose custom it was to lay his hat down on a table, and walk backward and forward at a good pace for half an hour or an hour, without speaking to any mortal, or seeming in the least to attend to any thing that was going forward there. He then used to take up his hat, pay his money at the bar, and walk away without opening his lips. After having observed

this singular behaviour for some time, they concluded him to be out of his senses; and the name that he went by among them, was that of "the mad parson." This made them more than usually attentive to his motions; and one evening, as Mr. Addison and the rest were observing him, they saw him cast his eyes several times on a gentleman in boots, who seemed to be just come out of the country, and at last advanced toward him as intending to address him. They were all eager to hear what this dumb, mad parson had to say, and immediately quitted their seats to get near him. Swift went up to the country gentleman, and in a very abrupt manner, without any previous salute, asked him, "Pray, sir, do you remember any good weather in the world?" The country gentleman, after staring a little at the singularity of his manner, and the oddity of the question, answered, "Yes, sir, I thank God, I remember a great deal of good weather in my time." "That is more," said Swift, "than I can say; I never remember any weather that was not too hot, or too cold; too wet, or too dry; but, however, God Almighty contrives it, at the end of the year, 'tis all very well." Upon saying this, he took up his hat, and without uttering a syllable more, or taking the least notice of any one, walked out of the coffee-house; leaving all those who had been spectators of this odd scene, staring after him, and still more confirmed in the opinion of his being mad. There is another anecdote recorded of him, of what passed between him and Doctor Arbuthnot in the same coffee-house. The doctor had been scribbling a letter in great haste, which was much blotted; and seeing this odd parson near him, with a design to play upon him, said, "Pray, sir, have you any sand about you?" "No," replied Swift, "but I have the gravel, and if you will give me your letter, I'll p-ss upon it." Thus singularly

commenced an acquaintance between those two great wits, which afterward ripened into the closest friendship. After these adventures, they saw him no more at Button's, till "The Tale of a Tub" had made its appearance in the world, when, in the person of the author of that inimitable performance, they recognized their mad parson. This piece was first published in the following year, 1704; and though without a name, yet the curiosity excited by the appearance of such a wonderful piece of original composition, could not fail of finding out the author, especially as not only the bookseller knew him, but as the manuscript had at different times been shown to several of Sir William Temple's relations, and most intimate friends. When it is considered that Swift had kept this piece by him eight years, after it had been, by his own confession, completely finished, before he gave it to the world; we must stand astonished at such a piece of self-denial, as this must seem, in a young man, ambitious of distinction, and eager after fame; and wonder what could be his motive for not publishing it sooner. But the truth is, Swift set but little value on his talents as a writer, either at that time, or during the whole course of his life, farther than as they might contribute to advance some nobler ends, which he had always in view. Unsolicitous, therefore, about fame merely literary, or the reputation of an author, he could with the most perfect *sang froid* lock up this admirable piece in his desk, and wait, with the most philosophic patience, for a favourable season to produce it, when it might answer some more important purpose. After the time he had given the last finishing to it, the violence of parties ran so high for some years, and their disputes were carried on with such animosity, that he did not think the public in a temper fit to receive the work, so as to produce the effects which he proposed from it. But as the

with regard to the weakening of the powers of popery and fanaticism in this country. Effects not merely temporary, but which, with their cause, are likely to last as long as the English language shall be read.

After the publication of this work, Swift wrote nothing of consequence for three or four years;* during which time his acquaintance was much sought after by all persons of taste and genius. There was, particularly, a very close connexion formed between Mr. Addison† and him which ended in a sincere and lasting friendship, at least on Swift's part. Addison's companionable qualities were known but to a few, as an invincible bashfulness kept him for the most part silent in mixed companies; but Swift used to say of him, that his conversation in a *tête à tête*, was the most agreeable he had ever known in any one; and that in the many hours which he had passed with him in that way, neither of them ever wished for the coming in of a third person.

In the beginning of the year 1708, Swift started forth from his state of inactivity, and published several pieces upon religious and political subjects, as also in the humorous way. That which regarded religion chiefly, was, "An Argument against abolishing Christianity;" in which he pursues the same humorous method, which was

* He was appointed proctor for the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, in the Irish convocation, July 24, 1707; and was very active in it, as appears by his protest, Oct. 30, 1707; signed singly by himself, in the presence of Tho. Trotter, notary public. N.

† In 1705, Mr. Addison made a present of his book of Travels to Dr. Swift; in the blank leaf of which he wrote the following words:

"To Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
The most agreeable companion,
The truest friend,
And the greatest genius of his age,
This book is presented by his
Most humble servant,
The AUTHOR." N.

so successfully followed in the "Tale of a Tub." Perhaps there never was a richer vein of irony than runs through that whole piece; nor could any thing be better calculated to second the general impression made by the "Tale of a Tub." It is certain, that Swift thought the state of the church in great danger notwithstanding any vote of parliament to the contrary; and this chiefly from a sort of lethargic disorder, which had in general seized those who ought to have been its watchful guardians. To rouse them from this state, he found tickling to be more effectual than lashing; and that the best way to keep them wakeful, was to make them laugh.

It was at this juncture too he chose to publish his political principles. Swift had been hitherto always classed among the whigs, as the only political tract of his which had been published was in their favour, and as his chief connexions were among that body. And he himself had adopted the name in a Copy of Verses to the honourable Mrs. Finch.* And indeed with respect to government, there could not be a stauncher whig than he was upon the old principles of whiggism, as set forth by him; but he was an utter enemy to some new ones adopted by that party, in order to enlarge their bottom, and which evidently tended to republicanism. And as to their maxims with regard to religion, he widely differed from them. As these were made an essential part of the character of a whig at that time, he could not be said to be of their body. The truth is, that Swift was a man of too much integrity to belong to either party, while they were both so much in the wrong. This he himself declared in the opening of the political tract printed at this

* And, last my vengeance to complete,
May you descend to take renown,
Prevail'd on by the thing you hate,
A whig, and one who wears a gown. S.

time, entitled, "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man, with respect to Religion and Government;" which begins with these words: "Whoever has examined the conduct and proceedings of both parties for some years past, whether in or out of power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far toward the extremes of either, without offering some violence to his integrity or understanding." His motive for publishing this tract at that juncture, he has given in the following words: "When the two parties, that divide the whole commonwealth, come once to a rupture, without any hopes left of forming a third with better principles to balance the others; it seems every man's duty to choose one of the two sides, although he cannot entirely approve of either; and all pretences to neutrality are justly exploded by both, being too stale and obvious; only intending the safety and ease of a few individuals while the public is embroiled. This was the opinion and practice of the latter Cato, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and the best of all the Romans. But before things proceed to open violence, the truest service a private man may hope to do his country, is, by unbiassing his mind as much as possible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the rival powers; which must needs be owned a fair proceeding with the world because it is of all others, the least consistent with the common design of making a fortune, by the merit of an opinion."

Swift, from several circumstances at that time, apprehended that the parties, would speedily come to an open rupture; he therefore thought it the duty of a good citizen to endeavour to form a third party out of the more moderate of each, that should serve as a check upon the violence of both. With this view, he represents the extremes of both parties, and the evil consequences likely to ensue from each, in the strongest light; at the same

time he clearly shows that the moderate of both hardly differed in any material point, and were kept asunder only by the odious distinction of a name. He set down in this piece such a just, political, and religious creed, so far as related to any connexion between church and state, as every honest subject of the church of England must at once assent to. And, indeed, if it were in the nature of things, that a party could have been formed upon principles of moderation, good sense, and public spirit, his scheme would have taken place, from the masterly manner in which it was proposed. His design was, to engage all those of both parties, who wished well to the established church, to unite together under the denomination of church of England men, instead of the odious terms of *high* and *low church*, calculated to keep up animosity; and by so doing, to leave the more violent of both parties, whose numbers would in that case be much reduced, exposed to the world in their true colours, merely by being singled out in the different herds of their associates. In that case, there were few whigs, so lost to all sense of shame, as would choose to be one of a handful of English protestants, at the head of a numerous body of sectaries of all kinds, infidels and atheists; as there would be few tories who would wish to appear leaders of papists and jacobites only. Under the name of church of England man, none of these enemies to our constitution could have listed; whereas, under the vague names of whig and tory, persons of all denominations and principles were enrolled without scruple by both, merely to increase their numbers, and swell the cry. This project, for the uniting of parties, seems to have taken strong possession of Swift, and not to have quitted him for some time, as we find he mentions it in a * letter to Colonel

* "I amuse myself sometimes with writing verses to Mrs. Finch, and sometimes with projects for the uniting of parties, which I perfect

Hunter, in the beginning of the following year. However, if this design failed, he was determined, whenever matters should come to an open rupture between the parties, not to remain neutral; but to choose that side, which, upon the whole, should appear to him the best, according to the maxim before laid down. In order therefore to render himself of the greater consequence, he seems to have exerted himself this year in the display of his various talents. Beside the two admirable tracts before mentioned, he published "A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the Sacramental Test."

As he always kept a watchful eye upon the motions of the presbyterians, the intention of this piece was, not only to frustrate their attempt to get the test act repealed in Ireland, but also to alarm the people in England, by showing that their design was deeper laid, and that the carrying of it first in that country, was only intended as a precedent for doing the same here. In the humorous way, he wrote also in this year those admirable papers on Partridge the almanac maker, which appeared under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.; and in poetry, "An Elegy on the supposed Death of Partridge;" the story of "Baucis and Philemon;' and two copies of verses on Vanbrugh's house.* So wide a display of such

over night, and burn in the morning."—*Swift's Letter to Col. Hunter, Jan.* 12, 1708-9.

* It appears from a memorandum in Swift's hand-writing on the back of a letter directed to him, in October, 1708, at Lord Pembroke's house in Leicester-fields, that he had an intention this year to publish a volume of his works, consisting of the following articles:

SUBJECTS FOR A VOLUME.

Discourse on Athens and Rome.	Essay on Conversation.
Bickerstaff's Predictions.	Conjectures on the Thoughts of Posterity about me.
Elegy on Partridge.	On the present Taste of Reading.
Letter to Bishop of K[illala.]	

different talents; such knowledge in political affairs; so much good sense and strength of reasoning, joined to so pure and masterly a style; and above all, so much wit, and such uncommon powers of ridicule, could not fail of raising prognostics, that he would prove the most able and formidable champion living, of that party whose cause he should espouse. The whigs, therefore, who had hitherto neglected him, as considering him in the light of a half brother, began now to dread, and consequently to pay him great court. Their apprehensions were quickened by the narrow escape which they just then had of being turned out of power, by the intrigues of Mr. Harley; which had very nearly taken place then, in the manner they did two years afterward. No solicitations or promises were wanting, on their parts, to engage Swift on their side; but they found him a man of stubborn integrity; nor could any temptation prevail on him to go the lengths which they wanted. Failing in this, their next wish was to send him out of the way, in some honourable post. That of secretary to an intended embassy to the court of Vienna, was first designed for him; but that project going off, there was a scheme on foot to make him bishop of Virginia, with a power to ordain priests and deacons, and a general authority over all the clergy in the American colonies. There could not have been a stronger bait thrown out to Swift than this; as it

Harris's Petition.
Baucis and Philemon.
Vanbrugh's House.
The Salamander.
Epigram on Mrs. Floyd.
Meditation on a Broomstick.
Sentiments of a Church of England Man.
Reasons against abolishing Christianity.
Apology for the Tale, &c.
Part of an Answer to Tindal.
History of Van's House.
Apollo outwitted. To Ardelia.
Project for Reformation of Manners.
A Lady's Table-book.
Tritical Essay.

N.

would gratify his ambition, by a most extensive power, in the very sphere where he most wished to have it, in the church; as religion was always nearest his heart. Accordingly we find that he was very earnest in the pursuit of that point; but, unfortunately for the interests of religion in America, and as unfortunately for the whiggish ministry, notwithstanding their promises, that it should be done, the design fell to the ground, and Swift remained in the same state; remained on the spot, filled with resentment at their treatment of him, and determined to wreak his vengeance on them, when opportunity should serve, which was not now far distant.

Early in the following year, Swift published that admirable piece, called, "A Project for the advancement of Religion;" in which, after enumerating all the corruptions and depravities of the age, he shows, that the chief source of them was the neglect, or contempt of religion, which so generally prevailed. Though at first view this pamphlet seemed to have no other drift, but to lay down a very rational scheme for a general reformation of manners, yet upon a closer examination it will appear to have been a very strong, though covert attack, upon the power of the whigs. It could not have escaped a man of Swift's penetration, that the queen had been a long time wavering in her sentiments, and that she was then meditating that change in the ministry, which some time afterward took place. To confirm her in this intention, and to hasten the execution of it, appears, from the whole tenour of the pamphlet, to have been the main object he had in view, in publishing it at that time. For though it seems designed for the use of the world in general, and is particularly addressed to the countess of Berkeley, yet that it was chiefly calculated for the queen's perusal, appears from this; that the whole execution of this project depended upon the impression which it might make upon

her mind; and the only means of reformation proposed, were such as were altogether in her own power. At setting out, he says: "Now, as universal and deep rooted as these corruptions appear to be, I am utterly deceived if an effectual remedy might not be applied to most of them; neither am I now upon a wild speculative project, but such a one as may be easily put in execution. For, while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately, or by subordination; it is in the power of the prince to make piety and virtue become the fashion of the age, if, at the same time, he would make them necessary qualifications for favour and preferment." He then proceeds to show the necessity of her majesty's exerting her authority in this way, by a very free observation, couched under one of the finest compliments that ever was penned: "It is clear from present experience, that the bare example of the best prince will not have any mighty influence where the age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better prince on the throne than the present queen? I do not talk of her talent for government, her love of the people, or any other qualities that are purely regal; but her piety, charity, temperance, conjugal love, and whatever other virtues do best adorn a private life; wherein, without question, or flattery, she has no superiour: yet, neither will it be satire or peevish invective to affirm, that infidelity and vice are not much diminished since her coming to the crown; nor will, in all probability, until more effectual remedies be provided."

The chief remedy he proposes, is, "To bring religion into countenance, and encourage those who, from the hope of future reward, and dread of future punishment, will be moved to act with justice and integrity. This is not to be accomplished in any other way than by introducing religion as much as possible, to be the turn and

fashion of the age, which only lies in the power of the administration; the prince, with utmost strictness, regulating the court, the ministry, and other persons in great employment; and these, by their example and authority, reforming all who have dependence on them."

Having expatiated on this topic, and shown how easily such a design might be carried into execution, if the queen would only form such a determination, he proceeds to enforce his arguments by conscientious motives; which were likely to have the strongest effects upon one of such a truly religious turn as the queen was. After having just mentioned some points of reformation, in which the aid of the legislature might be found necessary, he says, "But this is beside my present design, which was only to show what degree of reformation is in the power of the queen, without interposition of the legislature; and which her majesty is, without question, obliged in conscience to endeavour by her authority, as much as she does by her practice."

And in another place he still more forcibly urges arguments of the same nature: "The present queen is a prince of as many and great virtues, as ever filled a throne: how would it brighten her character to the present, and after ages, if she would exert her utmost authority to instil some share of those virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn, only from her example. And, be it spoke with all the veneration possible for so excellent a sovereign; her best endeavours in this weighty affair, are a most important part of her duty, as well as of her interest, and her honour."

Nothing could have been better contrived to work upon the queen's disposition, than the whole of this tract. In which the author first shows that all the corruptions and wickedness of the times, arose from irreligion: he shows that it is in her majesty's power alone, without

other aid, to restore religion to its true lustre and force, and to make it have a general influence on the manners and conduct of her people: and then he urges the strongest motives, of honour, of interest, and of duty, to induce her to enter upon the immediate exercise of that power. And to render what he offered upon that head more forcible, it was apparently written by some disinterested hand, from no other principle but a due regard to religion and morality. For the author artfully suppressed all mention of party: and yet, upon a closer examination, it would appear, that nothing could be more directly, though covertly, aimed at the destruction of the power of the whigs. For, the first step proposed to render the design effectual, was, that the queen should employ none in her ministry, or in any offices about her person, but such as had the cause of religion at heart: now this was in effect to say, that she must begin with turning out the whigs, or low church party, who in general professed either an indifference to, or contempt of religion; and choose her officers from among the tories, or high church party, with whom the support of the interests of religion was the first and most generally avowed principle.

After the publication of this piece, Swift went to Ireland, where he remained till the revolution in the ministry took place, which happened in the following year; when Mr. Harley, and Mr. St. John, the heads of the tory party in the house of commons, were appointed to fill the chief offices; the former, that of chancellor of the exchequer, the latter, that of principal secretary of state. During this interval, Swift passed much of his time with Mr. Addison, who had gone over to Ireland as first secretary to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant of that kingdom. By this means he had an opportunity of being an eye witness of the corrupt admin-

istration of affairs in that kingdom, under that lord's government, which he afterwards exposed to the world in such strong and odious colours. Had Swift been intent only on his own promotion, it is probable that he might easily have obtained preferment in Ireland at that juncture, on account of his great intimacy with the secretary; but he would have scorned to pay court to a viceroy of such a character, or even to have accepted any favour at his hands. Upon the change of affairs at court, when a new ministry was appointed, Swift was requested by the bishops of Ireland to take upon him the charge of soliciting a remission of the first fruits, and twentieth parts, to the clergy of that kingdom. It was not without great reluctance that he accepted of this office, for reasons hereafter to be assigned; but his regard to the interests of the church, outweighed all other considerations, and he accordingly set out for England as soon as his credentials were ready.

SECTION III.

From the Introduction to Mr. Harley, to the death of the Queen.

ON his arrival in London in the month of September 1710, he found that open war was declared between the two parties, and raged with the utmost violence. There was no room for moderating schemes, and according to his own maxim, that a good citizen could not remain neutral in such a situation of affairs, Swift was to choose his party, and to declare himself accordingly. His arrival at that crisis, filled the whigs with joy, as in general they looked upon him to be of their party; but the

leaders among them were not without their apprehensions, being conscious of the ill treatment he had met with at their hands. Of this, take the following account from Swift himself:* "All the whigs were ravished to see me, and would have laid hold on me as a twig, to save them from sinking; and the great men were all making their clumsy apologies. It is good to see what a lamentable confession the whigs all make of my ill usage." On the other hand, the tories were exceedingly alarmed at his arrival, as they had always considered him in the light of a whig, and as the leaders of their party had not even the least personal knowledge of him; how strong their apprehensions must have been, we may judge from a passage in Swift's journal of the following year, dated June 30, 1711, where he says, that, "Mr. Harley and Mr. Secretary St. John frequently protested after he had become their intimate, that he was the only man in England they were afraid of." In such a disposition, therefore, it is to be supposed, that a visit from Dr. Swift to Mr. Harley was by no means an unacceptable thing. The occasion of this visit is set forth at large, in the letters which passed between Dr. King, archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Swift, published in his works. Upon his leaving Ireland, Swift had under-

* At this time, and during his connexion with the ministry afterward, Swift kept a regular journal of all the most remarkable events, as well as little anecdotes; which he transmitted every fortnight to Stella, for her private perusal, and that of Mrs. Dingley, but upon condition that it should be communicated to no other person whatsoever. This Journal was luckily preserved, and some time since given to the world. As nothing could better show Swift's own sentiments with regard to affairs at that time, and the motives which induced him to take the part he did in them, than such a journal, written as it were to the hour, and transmitted to that person in the world to whom his heart was most open; the account of his conduct, during that busy time, will, wherever there is an opportunity, be corroborated by extracts from it. S.

taken to solicit the affair of the first fruits, and twentieth parts, for the benefit of the clergy in Ireland, which had been long depending, and in vain attempted by two bishops sent over for that purpose by the whole body. In his first letter to the archbishop on that subject, he says, "As soon as I received the packets from your grace, I went to wait upon Mr. Harley. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate; and got myself represented (which I might justly do) as one extremely ill used by the last ministry, after some obligations, because I refused to go certain lengths they would have me." He afterward gives such an account of the whole transactions as might be proper to be shown.

But in his Journal to Stella he is more particular.

Oct. 4, 1710. "Mr. Harley received me with the greatest respect and kindness imaginable, and appointed me an hour, two or three days after, to open my business to him."

Oct. 7. "I had no sooner told him my business but he entered into it with all kindness; asked me for my powers, and read them; and read likewise the memorial I had drawn up, and put it into his pocket to show the queen: told me the measures he would take; and, in short, said every thing I could wish. Told me he must bring Mr. St. John and me acquainted; and spoke so many things of personal kindness and esteem, that I am inclined to believe what some friends had told me, that he would do every thing to bring me over. He desired me to dine with him on Tuesday; and, after four hours being with him, set me down at St. James's coffee-house in a hackney coach.

"I must tell you a great piece of refinement in Harley. He charged me to come and see him often; I told him I was loath to trouble him, in so much business as he had, and desired I might have leave to come at his levee;

which he immediately refused, and said, 'That was no place for friends.'

"Oct. 10. Harley tells me he has shown my memorial to the queen, and seconded it very heartily; because, said he, the queen designs to signify it to the bishops of Ireland in form, and take notice that it was done upon a memorial from you; which he said he did to make it look more respectful to me; I believe never any thing was compassed so soon: and purely done by my personal credit with Mr. Harley; who is so excessively obliging, that I know not what to make of it, unless to show the rascals of the other party, that they used a man unworthily who had deserved better. He speaks all the kind things to me in the world." Oct. 14. "I stand with the new people ten times better than ever I did with the old, and forty times more caressed."

When we consider the rapidity of Mr. Harley's motions on this occasion, who was remarkable for procrastination, and the open freedom of his behaviour toward Swift, so contrary to that closeness and reserve, which were his characteristics, we may judge of his eager desire to fix him in their party. Nor was this hard to be accomplished: Swift had long in his own mind been of their side; and he only waited for such a favourable juncture as now offered to declare himself. Mr. Harley's uncommon condescension, flattered his pride; and the obligingness of his behaviour, engaged his friendship. Accordingly, after he had inquired into their plan, and the measures which they intended to pursue, as he found them entirely consonant to his own sentiments, he embarked without hesitation in their cause, and entered into their interests with his whole heart. His approbation of their measures he expresses in the following manner in his Journal.

Nov. 29. "The present ministry have a difficult task, and want me. According to the best judgment I have, they are pursuing the true interest of the public, and therefore I am glad to contribute what lies in my power."

The writers on both sides had before this taken the field, and attacked each other with great acrimony On the whig side, were Mr. Addison, Bishop Burnet, Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Rowe, and many others of less note. On the part of the tories, the chief writers were, Lord Bolingbroke, Bishop Atterbury, and Mr. Prior. They had begun a weekly paper, called, "The Examiner," which was the joint work of those three celebrated writers, and had published twelve numbers.* But as soon as Swift declared himself, they thought all aid to him unnecessary, and the whole conduct of that paper was from that time put into his hands. He entered the field alone, and, with a Sampson-like strength, scorned assistance, and despised numbers. His power of ridicule was like a flail in his hand, against which there was no fence. Though he industriously concealed his name, yet his friend Addison soon discovered him, and retired prudently from the field of battle, leaving the rest exposed to the attacks of this irresistible champion; by whom it must be allowed they were unmercifully handled, till, one after another, they were all laid low. His first paper was published on the 2d of November, 1710, No. 14 of the Examiner, which was about a month after his introduction to Mr. Harley; and he continued them without interruption till June 7, 1711, where he dropped it, closing it with No. 45, and then leaving it to be carried on by other hands. During this time he lived in the utmost degree of confidence and familiarity, not only with Mr. Harley, but the whole

*They had published *thirteen*. See vol. V. N.

ministry. Mr. Secretary St. John was not behind Mr. Harley, either in desire of cultivating Swift's acquaintance, or in address, which the following extract from his Journal will sufficiently show.

Nov. 11, 1710. "I dined to day, by invitation, with the secretary of state, Mr. St. John. Mr. Harley came in to us before dinner, and made me his excuses for not dining with us, because he was to receive people who came to propose the advancing of money to government. The secretary used me with all the kindness in the world. Prior came in after dinner; and upon an occasion, the secretary said to him, 'The best thing I ever read is not your's, but Dr. Swift on Vanbrugh;' which I do not reckon so very good neither; but Prior was damped, till I stuffed him with two or three compliments. He told me, among other things, that Mr. Harley complained he could keep nothing from me, I had the way so much of getting into him. I knew that was a refinement, and so I told him; and it was so. Indeed it is hard to see these great men use me like one who was their betters, and the puppies with you in Ireland hardly regarding me. But there are some reasons for all this, which I will tell you when we meet."

In another place, he says, March 3, 1710-11. "I dined with Mr. Harley to day. Every Saturday, lord keeper, Secretary St. John, and I, dine with him, and sometimes Lord Rivers, and they let in none else. I staid with Mr. Harley till nine, when we had much discourse together, after the rest were gone, and I gave him very truly my opinion, when he desired it."

Feb. 18, 1710-11. "Secretary St. John would need have me dine with him to day; and there I found three persons I never saw, two I had no acquaintance with, and one I did not care for; so I left them early, and came home, it being no day to walk, but scurvy rain and wind.

The secretary tells me he has put a cheat upon me; for Lord Peterborow sent him twelve dozen flasks of Burgundy, on condition I should have my share; but he never was quiet till they were all gone; so I reckon he owes me thirty-six pounds."

Feb. 25. "I dined to-day with Mr. Secretary St. John, on condition I might choose my company, which were Lord Rivers, Lord Carteret, Sir T. Mansel, and Mr. Lewis. I invited Masham, Hill, Sir John Stanley, and George Granville, but they were engaged; and I did it in revenge of his having such bad company when I dined with him before. So we laughed, &c."

In the beginning of February, there was a piece of behaviour in Mr. Harley toward Swift, which nettled him to the quick, and had nearly occasioned a breach between them. Of this Swift gives the following account in his Journal.

Feb. 6, 1710. "Mr. Harley desired me to dine with him again to day, but I refused him; for I fell out with him yesterday, and will not see him again till he makes me amends."

Feb. 7. "I was this morning early with Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, and saw a letter Mr. Harley had sent him, desiring to be reconciled; but I was deaf to all entreaties, and have desired Lewis to go to him, and let him know I expected farther satisfaction. If we let these great ministers pretend too much, there will be no governing them. He promises to make me easy, if I will but come and see him; but I won't, and he shall do it by message, or I will cast him off. I will tell you the cause of our quarrel when I see you, and refer it to yourselves. In that he did something, which he intended for a favour, and I have taken it quite otherwise, disliking both the thing and the manner, and it has heartily vexed me; and all I have said is truth, though it looks

like jest: and I absolutely refused to submit to his intended favour, and expect farther satisfaction."

In a subsequent part of the Journal he acquaints Stella with the cause of quarrel.

March 7. "Yes, I understand a cypher, and Ppt* guesses right, as she always does. He gave me *al bsadnnk lboinlpl dfuonr ufainfbtoy dpeonufnad*;† which I sent him again by Mr. Lewis, to whom I wrote a very complaining letter, that was showed him, and so the matter ended. He told me he had a quarrel with me; I said I had another with him, and we returned to our friendship, and I should think he loves me as well as a great minister can love a man in so short a time."

Nothing could have been considered by Swift as a greater indignity, than this offer of Mr. Harley's, which put him on the footing of a hireling writer. Accordingly, he was determined to let him see how much he had mistaken his man, by refusing to see him again till he had asked his pardon by a third hand. He laid hold of this opportunity, to let the ministry know how he expected to be treated by them for the future: as a man, who not only scorned a state of dependence, but who could not bear any thing that might carry the least appearance of it; as one who entered a volunteer in their cause, and who scorned to lie under any obligation, or accept of any thing to which he was not justly entitled by his merits: and lastly, as one who, conscious of his abilities to serve the public, expected to be considered by them as

* Stella. S.

† This is a sort of cipher, in which, to disguise the words, superfluous letters are introduced; and the way to read it is to pass over those letters, and retain only such as will make out words and sense, in the following manner, where the letters to be retained are capitals. Al BsAdNnK lBoInLpL dFaOnR uFaInFbToY dPeOnUrNaD. That is, *A Bank Bill for fifty pound.* S.

their coadjutor in the cause, and to be treated on a footing of entire equality. Accordingly, immediately after Mr. Harley had made his peace with him, he showed, by an extraordinary piece of behaviour, that he was determined to exact this from them, without bating the smallest article. The circumstance is mentioned in the following passage of the Journal.

Feb. 12. "I dined to day with Mr. Secretary St. John: I went to the Court of Requests at noon, and sent Mr. Harley into the house to call the secretary, to let him know I would not dine with him if he dined late."

When this story is told, without any other circumstance, and we are informed that a private clergyman, vicar of a small country living, in an obscure part of the world, sent the prime minister of Great Britain, to bring out to him the first secretary of state from the senate house, where he was engaged in the important business of the nation, upon so frivolous an occasion, we should be apt to consider it was a wanton exertion of the most insolent pride. But when we reflect that this was done the very day after he was reconciled to Mr. Harley, and that he took the first opportunity of retaliating the slight put upon him a few days before, it can only give us a high opinion of his magnanimity. Besides, upon this reconciliation, he thought it necessary to give both ministers a specimen of the terms upon which alone their union could continue, the principle of which was a most perfect equality. How little Swift was willing to allow them any superiority, may be judged by an expression in his Journal the next day after this accident.

Feb. 13. "I have taken Mr. Harley into favour again."

And it soon afterward appeared how readily these ministers came into his terms, as may be seen from the *following* passage.

Feb. 17. "The ministers are good honest hearty fellows; I use them like dogs, because I expect they will use me so. They call me nothing but *Jonathan*, and I said I believed they would leave me Jonathan as they found me; and that I never knew a minister do any thing for those whom they make companions of their pleasures; and I believe you will find it so, but I care not."

How tenacious he was of his rights in this respect, and how ready to take the alarm upon the least appearance of their being infringed, we may judge from the following account of what passed between the secretary and him, sometime after, on an occasion of that sort.

April 1, 1711. "I dined with the secretary, who seemed terribly down and melancholy; which Mr. Prior and Lewis observed as well as I: perhaps something is gone wrong; perhaps there is nothing in it."

April 3. "I called at Mr. Secretary's, to see what the d—— ailed him on Sunday: I made him a very proper speech, told him I observed he was much out of temper; that I did not expect he would tell me the cause, but would be glad to see he was in better; and one thing I warned him of, never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a schoolboy; that I had felt too much of that in my life already; that I expected every great minister, who honoured me with his acquaintance, if he heard or saw any thing to my disadvantage, would let me know it in plain words, and not put me in pain to guess by the change or coldness of his countenance or behaviour; for it was what I would hardly bear from a crowned head, and I thought no subject's favour was worth it;* and that I designed to let

* In a subsequent part of the Journal to Stella, he says, "Don't you remember how I used to be in pain, when Sir William Temple would look cold and out of humour for three or four days, and I used to suspect a hundred reasons? I have plucked up my spirit since then, faith; he spoiled a fine gentleman." S.

my lord keeper, and Mr. Harley, know the same thing, that they might use me accordingly. He took all right; said I had reason; vowed nothing ailed him, but sitting up whole nights at business, and one night at drinking; would have had me dined with him and Mrs. Masham's brother, to make up matters; but I would not: I don't know, but I would not. But indeed I was engaged with my old friend Rollinson; you never heard of him before."

From this time we find that Swift was treated by the ministry with the most unreserved confidence in regard to public affairs, and the most familiar intimacy in private; being always present at their most secret consultations in political matters, and a constant companion of their chosen parties to enliven their social hour.

Swift has given us the following view of the light in which he considered the situation of affairs about that time. March 4, 1710. "This kingdom is certainly ruined, as much as was ever any bankrupt merchant. We must have a peace, let it be a bad or a good one; though nobody dares talk of it. The nearer I look upon things, the worse I like them. I believe the confederacy will soon break to pieces, and our factions at home increase. The ministry is upon a very narrow bottom, and stand like an isthmus, between the whigs on one side, and violent tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship too rotten, and the crew all against them. Lord Somers has been twice in the queen's closet, once very lately; and the Duchess of Somerset, who now has the key, is a most insinuating woman; and I believe they will endeavour to play the same game that has been played against them. I have told them all this, which they know already; but they cannot help it. They have cautioned the queen so much against being governed, that she observes it too much. I could talk

till to-morrow upon these things, but they make me melancholy. I could not but observe lately, after much conversation with Mr. Harley; though he is the most fearless man alive, and the least apt to despond, he confessed to me, that, uttering his mind to me, gave him ease."

Swift was employed chiefly in writing the Examiners till the beginning of the following June; when, having with ease foiled all his opponents in this skirmishing way of fighting, he retired to prepare for the general engagement, expected at the opening of the next campaign, and which was likely to prove decisive with regard to the fate of the two parties. It is certain, that his apprehensions for the side which he had embraced, were daily increasing; and, as he said himself, "the nearer he looked upon things, the worse he liked them." But his apprehensions were either confined within his own breast, or communicated only to the ministry, excepting in the Journal to Stella, where he is wholly without reserve. He had said to her, so early as January 7, 1710-11: "In my opinion we have nothing to save us but a peace, and I am sure we cannot have such a one as we hoped; and then the whigs will bawl what they would have done, had they continued in power. I tell the ministry this as much as I dare, and shall venture to say a little more to them."

Afterward, he gave her an account of the danger they were in, from the more violent members of their own party.

Feb. 18. "We are plagued with an October club, that is, a set of above a hundred parliament men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the parliament, to consult on affairs, and drive things to extremes against the whigs; to call the old ministry to account, and get off five or six

heads. The ministry seem not to regard them; yet one of them in confidence told me, that there must be something thought on to settle things better. I'll tell you one great secret: the queen, sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into the other extreme; and is jealous in that point, even of those who got her out of the other's hands. The ministry is for gentler measures, and the other tories for more violent. Lord Rivers, talking to me the other day, cursed the paper called The Examiner, for speaking civilly of the Duke of Marlborough. This I happened to talk of to the secretary, who blamed the warmth of that lord, and some others; and swore, if their advice were followed, they would be blown up in twenty-four hours. And I have reason to think, they will endeavour to prevail on the queen, to put her affairs more in the hands of a ministry, than she does at present; and there are two men thought on, one of whom you have often met the name of in my letters."

But though there were many external circumstances which rendered the situation of the ministry very precarious, yet the chief danger arose from themselves, through a want of concert and mutual confidence, so necessary to men embarked in so difficult an undertaking. This was chiefly owing to the reserve and mysterious conduct of Mr. Harley, which gave great umbrage to Mr. St. John, and had very nearly occasioned a breach between them about that time, of which Swift makes the following mention in his Journal.

August 27, 1711. "The whigs whisper that our ministry differ among themselves, and they begin to talk out the secretary. They have some reasons for their whispers; though I thought it was a greater secret. I do not much like the present posture of things; I always

apprehended that any falling out would ruin them, and so I have told them several times."

Beside this reserve in the treasurer, there was a procrastination in his temper, which ill suited such a juncture of affairs, as required the utmost vigour and despatch. And though the secretary was a man of great parts and fire, yet had he such a turn to dissipation, as made him lose opportunities, and produced as ill effects, as the procrastinating turn of the treasurer. Of this Swift complains in the following passage of his Journal.

Oct. 31, 1711. "The deuce is in the secretary; when I went to him this morning, he had people with him; but says, we are to dine with Prior to-day, and then will do all our business in the afternoon: at two, Prior sends word he is otherwise engaged: then the secretary and I go and dine with Brigadier Britton, sit till eight, grow merry, no business done; we part, and appoint no time to meet again. This is the fault of all the present ministers; teazing me to death for my assistance, laying the whole weight of their affairs upon it, and slipping opportunities."

On these, and many other accounts, things wore but a very unpromising aspect on the side of the tories; especially as the leaders of the whig party were active, vigilant, let slip no opportunity; and at the same time, being exasperated to the last degree at the loss of their power, were determined to stop at nothing, to compass the ruin of those who had supplanted them. Yet, however gloomy the prospect might be, Swift was not of a temper to give way to despondency. It is certain, that from the time he took a nearer view of the state of things, he had little hopes that the cause in which he had engaged would be brought to a happy issue; yet he determined, that, whenever it should fail, no part of the miscarriage should be laid at his door; and accordingly

he exerted himself with the same sort of ardour, as is usually raised only by a near prospect of success, upon vigorous measures. Not content with performing every thing that was allotted to him in his own department, he let no opportunity slip of urging the ministers to do what was proper on their parts. He, with great freedom, told them of their faults or omissions, sometimes in a serious, sometimes in a jocose way, as opportunities offered. There is a little anecdote of that sort, which shows how freely he indulged himself in this vein. Swift had received a present of a curious snuff-box from Colonel Hill, beautifully painted with a variety of figures, which he showed to Lord Oxford; who, after having examined the workmanship, turned up the bottom of the box, where he spied a figure resembling a goose, studded on the outside of the box; upon which, turning to Swift, he said, "Jonathan, I think the colonel has made a goose of you." "'Tis true, my lord," replied Swift, "but if you will look a little farther, you will see I am driving a snail before me;" which indeed happened to be the device. "That's severe enough, Jonathan," said my lord, "but I deserved it."

On another occasion, he observed to Lord Bolingbroke, that men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of public business, because they are apt to go out of the common road, by the quickness of their imagination: and he desired his lordship to take notice, that the clerks in his office used a sort of ivory knife, with a blunt edge, to divide a sheet of paper, which never failed to cut it even, only requiring a steady hand; whereas, if they should make use of a sharp penknife, the sharpness would make it go often out of the crease, and disfigure the paper.

These friendly admonitions of Swift, though they *might* sometimes produce good effects in particular cases,

when properly timed, yet could they do but little toward eradicating faults which seem to have been in a great measure constitutional, and which were grown too strong by habit to be easily overcome. Happy therefore was it for the ministry, that they had, in Swift, such a faithful monitor, to remind them of their errors, and such an able coadjutor, to supply their deficiencies. As no man perhaps ever possessed a greater degree of natural sagacity than Swift, or was master of a deeper penetration from close observations made on human nature, he often warned the ministers of dangers in their own sphere, which they did not see, though they had the advantage of being much nearer the springs of action; but the acuteness of his sight more than made up for the different degrees of distance. This was sufficiently shown by the event, as all his conjectures proved to be well founded; nor was there a single prognostic of his that failed. These he was never sparing to communicate to the ministers, though the phlegm of one, and dissipation of the other, generally rendered such notices of little effect. They were indeed so very dilatory or remiss in their preparations for the approaching contest, and their enemies so vigilant and active, that their ruin must inevitably have been accomplished soon after the meeting of the parliament, had it not been for the measures taken by Swift to prevent it. Finding that he could not rouse the minister to that activity, which so critical a juncture required, he determined to leave nothing undone, that lay in his own power, toward the support of the common cause. There were two points, which he thought of the utmost importance, and which therefore demanded the highest attention: the one was, to put an end to the cabals of the October club, which threatened the most dangerous consequences to the ministry: the other was, the making of a peace; without

which, it was a maxim with him that the ministry could not stand. The first of these points he soon accomplished. He procured a meeting of some of the principal members of the club at the tavern; where he gave them such cogent reasons for the conduct of the ministry, as removed their fears and jealousies. This meeting occasioned a suspicion in many of the absent members, which was followed by a division of the club; after which, their meetings being neither so numerous nor so frequent, they gradually dwindled away; and, upon the seasonable publication of a little pamphlet, by Swift, called, "Some Advice to the Members of the October Club," they were in general so well satisfied, that their meetings were no more heard of; and these very members were afterward the staunchest friends that the ministry had in the house of commons. The affair of the peace was at a greater distance, and a point of infinitely more difficulty. Necessary as it was that it should be accomplished, in the disposition that the nation then was, the ministry did not even dare to hint it, and there was but one way in which they could attempt it, with the least degree of safety to themselves; and that was, by raising such a clamour for peace, as should make the steps taken toward it by the ministry, appear to be in consequence of the attention due to the general voice of the nation. This Swift undertook to accomplish; and with that view he took uncommon pains in drawing up that famous political tract, called, "*The Conduct of the Allies;*" the effects of which will presently be shown.

But Swift had still a more difficult point to manage; and one, which was attended with more immediate danger than all the rest; I mean, that of keeping the ministry from quarrelling among themselves, which he foresaw

must end in their total destruction.* The treasurer and secretary were of such different dispositions, and so little agreed about the means to be pursued toward the attainment of the common end they had in view, that it required the utmost address to prevent their coming to an open rupture; which would probably have happened, even at that critical time, had it not been for Swift's interposition. Perhaps there was no man living so well qualified for the office of a mediator between them, as Swift. The case required the constant interposition of some common friend to both, who should not be suspected of any partiality to either, or of any interested views in the advice he should give; at the same time of one, who would speak his mind with unlimited freedom to each separately, or both together, without fear of disobliging. He must therefore be a man, whose assistance was of so much moment to each in the prosecution of their several designs, that neither would dare to break with the other unreasonably, lest his whole weight should be thrown into the opposite scale. And perhaps there was no man living, at that juncture, who could perfectly answer this description, but Swift. Accordingly we find, that for the space of more than two years afterward, though there was much ill blood, and many bickerings between them, he kept them from coming to an open rupture; and the incurable breach, which afterwards ensued, was made during his absence in Ireland, when he went to take possession of his deanery.

In this critical situation of affairs, and in the midst of that load of business which was thrown upon Swift's

* Swift, in a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, says, "I take the safety of the present ministry to consist in the agreement of three great men, lord keeper, lord treasurer, and Mr. Secretary; and so I have told them together, between jest and earnest, and two of them separately, with more earnestness." S.

shoulders, let us stop awhile, to admire the vigour and activity of his mind, which, at such a juncture, could find leisure to throw out, as if it were a holiday task, his favourite design, of establishing the English language on some solid foundation.

In a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, dated July 12, 1711, there is this passage: "I have been engaging my lord treasurer, and the other great men, in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, especially his lordship. He is to erect some kind of society, or academy, under the patronage of the ministers, and protection of the queen, for correcting, enlarging, polishing, and fixing our language. The methods must be left to the society; only I am writing a letter to my lord treasurer, by way of proposals, and some general hints, which I design to publish, and he expects from me. All this may come to nothing, although I find the ingenious and learned men of all my acquaintance fall readily in with it; and so I hope will your grace, if the design can be well executed. I would desire at leisure some of your grace's thoughts on this matter."

As the time of the parliament's meeting approached, which was to decide the fate of the parties, Swift applied himself closely to the finishing of a work, from which great matters were expected, toward inclining people to the main object of the ministry, a peace.

His first mention of it to Stella, is in his Journal, Oct. 26, 1711. "We have no quiet with the whigs, they are so violent against a peace; but I will cool them with a vengeance, very soon. I have written a paper, which the ministers reckon will do abundance of good, and open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched against a peace. Few of this generation can remember any thing but war and taxes, and they think it is as it should be; *whereas* it is certain, we are the most undone people in

Europe, as I am afraid I shall make appear beyond all contradiction."

Upon the meeting of parliament, on the 7th of December, 1711, Swift's apprehensions and prognostics proved to be but too well founded. He saw clearly, that if the queen did not stand firm in support of the ministry, they were undone; and from a knowledge of her temper, he dreaded some change in her, from the influence which the* dutchess of Somerset had over her; who had succeeded the dutchess of Marlborough in her favour, and whose husband was avowedly bent on the destruction of the ministry. His fears proved indeed to have been too well founded. What passed on this occasion, is thus related in his Journal, Dec. 7, 1711. "The Earl of Nottingham began, and spoke against a peace, and desired, that in their address they might put in a clause, to advise the queen not to make a peace without Spain; which was debated, and carried by the whigs, by about six voices, in a committee of the whole house." The question's being then carried against the ministry, was no small surprise to them, as they did not expect it, though Swift had often warned them of it, and pointed out the means by which it would be effected. But the behaviour of the queen, upon that occasion, was such a thunderclap, as perfectly astounded them, and made them give over all as lost. This circumstance is thus related by Swift in his Journal, Dec. 8, 1711. "When the queen was going from the house of lords, where she sat to hear the debate, on the 7th of December, 1711, the duke of Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain, asked her majesty whether he or the great chamberlain Lindsey,

* In a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, Swift says, "You know the duchess of Somerset is a great favourite, and has got the duchess of Marlborough's key. She is insinuating, and a woman of intrigue; and will, I believe, do what ill offices she can to the secretary." S.

ought to lead her out! she answered short 'Neither of you,' and gave her hand to the duke of Somerset, who was louder than any in the house against a peace." This behaviour of the queen could be construed in no other light than a desertion of the ministry, and accordingly it produced such an effect, that Swift tells us, "the clause was carried the next day, in the house of lords, almost two to one." The consequences of this, are thus described by Swift, in his History of the Peace of Utrecht. "When this address against any peace without Spain, &c. was carried in the house of lords, it is not easy to describe the effect it had upon most men's passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The Earl of Wharton was observed in the house to smile, and to put his hands to his neck, when any of the ministry was speaking; by which he would have it understood, that some heads were in danger. Parker, the chief justice, began already with great zeal and officiousness, to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, and written in defence of the administration: in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

"On the other side, all well wishers to the church, the queen, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treasurer stood the foremost mark, both of his enemies' fury, and the censure of his friends. Among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others, to his immeasurable public thrift! Both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the events; and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved." Swift gives the following account of his first interview with the lord treasurer on this occasion.

in his Journal, Dec. 8, 1711. "Mr. Masham begged us to stay, because lord treasurer would call, and we were resolved to fall on him about his negligence in securing a majority. He came, and appeared in good humour, as usual, but I thought his countenance was much cast down. I rallied him, and desired him to give me his staff, which he did; I told him if he would secure it me a week, I would set all right; he asked how? I said, I would immediately turn lord Marlborough, his two daughters, the duke and dutchess of Somerset, and lord Cholmondely, out of all their employments; and I believe he had not a friend but was of my opinion. Arbuthnot asked, How he came not to secure a majority? He could answer nothing, but that he could not help it, if people would lie and forswear. A poor answer for a great minister. There fell from him a scripture expression, *that the hearts of kings are unsearchable.* I told him, it was what I feared, and was from him the worst news he could tell me. I begged him to know what he had to trust to: he stuck a little, but at last bid me not to fear, for all would be well yet."

Swift's private sentiments on the occasion, are thus expressed in his Journal, Dec. 8, 1711. "This is a long Journal, and of a day that may produce great alterations, and hazard the ruin of England. The whigs are all in triumph, they foretold how all this would be, but we thought it boasting. Nay, they say the parliament should be dissolved before Christmas, and perhaps it may. This is all your d——d D—— of Somerset's doing: I warned the ministers of it nine months ago, and a hundred times since. The secretary always dreaded it. I told lord treasurer I should have the advantage of him, for he would lose his head, and I should only be hanged, and so carry my body entire to the grave."

Dec. 15, 1711. "Here are the first steps toward the ruin of an excellent ministry, for I look upon them as certainly ruined. Some are of opinion the whole ministry will give up their places next week; others imagine, when the session is over. I do resolve, if they give up, or are turned out soon, to retire for some months, and I have pitched upon the place already; I would be out of the way upon the first of the ferment; for they lay all things upon me, even some I have never read."

Lord Oxford now perceived the ill effects of his too great security; but, as he was a man of great firmness of mind, instead of being daunted at the dangerous situation of affairs, he applied himself vigorously to retrieve what had been lost. Swift speaks of him as a man fruitful in expedients, and says, "He never wanted a reserve upon any emergency, which would appear desperate to others:" and never did any occasion call more for the exertion of such talents. The first necessary step was to get the queen back out of the hands into which she had fallen, and then to fix her steadily in the pursuit of his measures. He had the address very soon to regain the queen's favour and confidence; and the first use he made of it was to restore the majority he had lost in the house of lords, by engaging her to create twelve new peers at once. This, it must be allowed, was a desperate step, but the desperate state of their affairs required it. Swift, in speaking of this point, says, "Yet, after all, it is a strange unhappy necessity, of making so many peers together; but the queen has drawn it upon herself, by her trimming and moderation." This could not fail, however, of raising great clamours and jealousies in the people. "The adverse party," says Swift in his History, "being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did: that it was a pernicious example set for ill princes

to follow, who, by the same rule, might make at any time a hundred as well as twelve; and by these means become masters of the house of lords, whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties."

This unpopular measure was quickly followed by another, which raised a universal clamour both at home and abroad; and that was, the dismissing of the Duke of Marlborough from all his employments. This act, whatever danger might attend it, was, to the ministry, an act of necessity; for matters were then carried to such a height, that there was no alternative, but either the duke, or the ministry must fall. However, though it kept them in for the time, it rendered their situation exceedingly precarious. The people, alarmed at the dismissal of so great and fortunate a general, in the midst of a war, expected nothing to follow, but a shameful peace. The clamour for the continuance of the war, became louder than ever, which was helped on by the presence of Prince Eugene, who had lately arrived in England, with the largest proposals from the emperor for that purpose. All the envoys from the allies bestirred themselves every where to raise a spirit for war; and the whigs, enraged to the last degree, at the total loss of their power, by the fall of their chief, left no stone unturned to rouse the people. In a short time, the nation seemed to have but one voice, which was, for the continuance of the war; and it was certain, that if the ministry could not carry a peace, it was impossible they should stand. In this critical situation of affairs it was, that Swift's talents shone forth in their highest lustre. It was at this juncture. that his celebrated political tract, called, "The Conduct of the Allies," produced such marvellous effects. Never did any thing of that nature cause so sudden a change in the minds of the people. It immediately passed through seven editions, and eleven

thousand of them were sold in less than a month. The members during the recess, had full time to read and consider it well; and Swift, in his Journal, gives the following account of the effects which it produced, Feb. 4, 1711. "The house of commons have this day made many severe votes about our being abused by our allies. Those who spoke, drew all their arguments from my book, and their votes confirm all I wrote. The court had a majority of 150. All agree, that it was my book that spirited them to these resolutions." And shortly afterward, speaking on the same subject, he says, Feb. 8. "The resolutions, printed the other day in the votes, are almost quotations from it, and would never have passed, if that book had not been written." That Swift had taken uncommon pains about this tract, appears from another passage, where he says, "It is fit it should answer the pains I have been at about it." Thus did the doctor amply fulfil his prediction with regard to this book, in a passage before cited, where he says, "We have no quiet with the whigs, they are so violent against a peace; but I will cool them with a vengeance very soon." The voice of the commons was immediately backed by a great majority without doors, who were made converts by the same arguments. Thus was the ministry indebted to Swift, not only for their immediate preservation from a destruction which seemed inevitable, but for such a solid establishment in future, as could neither be undermined nor shaken by the arts or violence of their enemies; and they had nothing to fear, but from their own dissentions among themselves. After so signal a service, it is no wonder that he grew into the deepest confidence with them, and that they ever after cherished him in their bosoms.

As the ministry were now at full liberty to pursue their political plan with security, and to take all proper

measures toward bringing about a peace; Swift, whose active spirit seems to have known no rest at that juncture, and who was eager to make use of the influence he had obtained, toward doing some great public good, laid hold of this opportunity to press his plan of an academy. In a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, March 29, 1712, he says, "I lately wrote a letter of about thirty pages to lord treasurer, by way of proposal for an academy, to correct, enlarge, and ascertain the English language: and he and I have named above twenty persons of both parties to be members. I will shortly print the letter, and I hope something will come of it. Your grace sees I am a projector too." In a subsequent one, he says, upon the same subject, "My lord treasurer has often promised he will advance my design of an academy, so have my lord keeper, and all the ministers; but they are too busy to think of any thing beside what they have upon the anvil. My lord treasurer and I have already pitched upon twenty members of both parties; but perhaps it may all come to nothing."

And afterward, in another letter, he says, "As for any academy to correct and settle our language, lord treasurer talked of it often very warmly; but I doubt is yet too busy until the peace be over."

Swift indeed soon found, that his eagerness to accomplish a point, which he had so much at heart, had made him push it at an improper season; not only as the hands of the ministry were full, but as he himself had work enough cut out for him of another kind. A numerous body of the whig writers were continually assaulting the ministry, with the utmost violence; and they relied, for their defence, on the single arm of their doughty champion, Swift.

On the other side, the two champions, on whom the whigs most depended, were Bishop Burnet and Mr. Steele (afterward Sir Richard,) well known to the world as writer of the greatest number of those ingenious essays, which appeared under the titles of the Tattlers, Spectators, and Guardians. They placed great hopes in two pamphlets, published about this time; one by Bishop Burnet, under the title of "An Introduction to the third Volume of his History of the Reformation;" the other by Mr. Steele, called, "The Crisis." These two were immediately answered by Swift, with such infinite humour, wit, ridicule, and strength of argument, as not only blunted the edge of those pieces, but lowered the consequence of the authors themselves so much, by raising the laugh strongly against them, as to deprive them of the power of doing future mischief. We may judge of the effect which those two pamphlets must have produced at that critical time, when we consider with what delight they are read at this day, on account of their intrinsic merit, though we are little interested with regard to the events which gave them birth. This indeed distinguishes Swift's political tracts from all others; that these were written for a day; his, for perpetuity; they borrowed their chief merit from circumstances and times; his, from the immensity of his genius: their chief value arose from fashion; his, from weight. And he seems to have had the same advantage over his antagonists, as Homer has given to Achilles, by cloathing him in celestial armour, and furnishing him with weapons of ethereal temper.

It may perhaps seem surprising, that after so many and such important services, Swift should have remained so long without preferment, or reward of any kind; and the ministry have on that account, been charged with ingratitude toward him. But they were far from being

unmindful of his merits, and had recommended him to the queen to fill a vacant bishoprick. But the dutchess of Somerset, who entertained an implacable hatred against him, determined to move heaven and earth to prevent his promotion taking place. She first prevailed on the archbishop of York to oppose it, whose remarkable expression to the queen was, "That her majesty should be sure that the man whom she was going to make a bishop, was a Christian." But as he could give no better colour for this surmise, than that Swift was supposed to be the author of the "Tale of a Tub," the bishop was considered as acting officiously, out of too indiscreet a zeal, and his interposition was of no avail. The dutchess then went in person to the queen, and, throwing herself on her knees, entreated, with tears in her eyes, that she would not give the bishoprick to Swift; at the same time presenting to her that excessively bitter copy of verses, which Swift had written against her, called, "The Windsor Prophecy." The queen, upon reading them, was stung with resentment at the very severe treatment which he had given to a lady, who was known to stand highly in her favour, and as a mark of her displeasure, passed Swift by, and bestowed the bishoprick on another.

As soon as it was known that Swift was in disgrace with the queen, his enemies began to attack him from all quarters; and, as is usual in such cases, his court friends in general either deserted him, or looked coldly on him. There were several speeches made against him, both in the house of lords and commons; particularly by the Earl of Nottingham in the former, and Mr. Walpole (afterward Sir Robert) and Mr. Aislabie, who had before professed much friendship for him, in the latter. The Scotch lords went in a body to the queen, to complain of the author of a pamphlet, called, "The Public

Spirit of the Whigs," in which were many passages highly injurious to the honour of their nation, and desiring that the author might be brought to condign punishment. Accordingly, a reward was offered by proclamation, of three hundred pounds, for the discovery of the author of that piece. But Swift was a man of too much courage, and knew his own strength too well, to be much alarmed at all these threatening appearances. Instead of retiring, he stood boldly on his defence. His friend Lord Oxford too, and the rest of the ministry, espoused his cause so warmly, and exerted their influence so strongly in his behalf, that he soon appeared again at court in higher favour than ever.

In April, 1713, soon after the conclusion of the peace, he was appointed dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin; and in the beginning of June following he set out for Ireland, in order to be installed. His intention was, to take up his residence there for some time; but the ministry, to whom his presence was become necessary, would not suffer it; and were so importunate for his return, that, after he had passed through the necessary forms, and recovered from an indisposition, which had confined him some time at his living in the country, he returned to London, though very unwillingly.* Upon his arrival, he found his presence necessary on two very material accounts. One was, to prevent if possible a rupture between the ministers, which was daily threatened, as they had no longer the tie of common danger to cement them, since the conclusion of the peace: the other was, to defend the articles of that peace; which were now violent-

* In a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, dated from Ireland, he says, "if your grace goeth to London from the Bath, I believe I may have the honour of waiting on you, although I shall do all in my power to save the trouble of such a journey, which neither my fortune nor my health will very well bear." S.

ly attacked. In the former of these points, he succeeded for some time so far as to make them keep fair appearances toward each other, whatever ill will might be rankling in their hearts. And with regard to the latter, he applied himself to the finishing of the History of the Peace of Utrecht, in which he had made a considerable progress, before he had gone to take possession of his deanery. He was likewise particularly employed at this juncture with relation to the affairs of Ireland, where party rage had at that time broken out into several violent and dangerous acts. When he had finished the history, he put it into the hands of Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, in order that it might be published; and soon after returned to his deanery. But he had scarcely arrived there, when there were a* hundred letters sent after him to recall him with all speed, in order to use his endeavours to reconcile the ministers; who, soon after he had turned his back, had come to an open rupture. Upon this intelligence, Swift returned immediately, though he had scarce been a fortnight in Dublin. Upon his arrival, he contrived to bring Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke together at Lord Masham's, where he was left alone with them, and expostulated freely with both, but to little effect. However, they agreed to go to Windsor together the next day. Swift, hoping they might come to a more free explanation in a *tête à tête*, than in the presence of a third person, pretended business the next morning, and sent them together to Windsor. He followed soon after, but found his scheme had not produced the desired effect. He had one meeting more with them, and finding the breach irreconcilable, he told them he resolved to retire, saying, "that, as he was a common friend to both, he would not, upon a breach,

* See Swift's letter to the Earl of Oxford. S.

take part with either." And as he foresaw nothing from their disunion, but what would be fatal to the general interest, he was determined to have no farther concern with public affairs. Swift on this occasion acted the part of a zealous and disinterested friend, but he found no one to second him; which he laments in several places, as he imagined, if others had done their duty, a reconcilement might have been effected. In a letter to Mr. Pope, he says, "I only wish my endeavours had succeeded better, in the great point I had at heart, which was that of reconciling the ministers to each other. This might have been done, if others, who had more concern, and more influence, would have acted their parts; and if this had succeeded, the public interest, both of church and state, would not have been the worse, nor the protestant succession endangered." But Swift was probably the only man among them, who had either the interest of the public, or of the ministers at heart; the rest seem rather to have been wholly intent upon considering how their own private advantage might be promoted by this breach, and listed themselves under the several leaders with this view. Had Swift been a selfish man, he might certainly have made what terms he pleased; as his weight, thrown into either scale, would have been of great moment. But he was actuated upon this occasion by that high principle of honour, from which he never swerved in the whole course of his life.

"By faction tir'd, with grief he waits awhile,
His great contending friends to reconcile,
Performs what friendship, justice, truth require:
What could he more, but decently retire?"*

* Swift's Verses on himself. 8.

After his last fruitless conference with the ministers, Swift immediately retired, as he said he would, to a friend's house in Berkshire. But this retirement was not owing to a timid disposition, which might prompt him to be out of harm's way at this dangerous juncture; nor to a principle of trimming, which might induce him to lie upon the lurch till he saw which party in the ministry should gain the ascendant; no, it was from a motive consonant to the nobleness of his mind. He had already acquitted himself to the utmost in point of friendship to the ministers; and by endeavouring to unite them, had taken the shortest and surest way to serve the common cause. When this was found impracticable, he thought his duty to the public, at so critical a conjuncture, paramount to all other considerations whatsoever; he therefore retired, in order to have leisure to lay open to the world, the true causes of the violent disorders of the state, let it offend whom it would; and to point out the only remedies that could effect a cure, however unpalatable they might prove to some of his best friends. It was on this occasion that he wrote that spirited pamphlet, called, "Some free Thoughts upon the present state of affairs;" in which, with great boldness, he charges the ministers as the chief causes of the reigning disorders, from their misconduct; and lays the greatest load of blame on the man whom he loved best in the world, Lord Oxford. Acting in this, like a friendly and skilful surgeon, who lays open the sore to the bottom, however painful the operation may prove to the patient, when he sees no other way of preventing a gangrene. The general blame which he throws out upon the ministry, is prefaced in this manner: "It may be matter of no little admiration, to consider, in some lights, the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and the inso-

lence, the mistaken politics and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the public another set of men, who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities, at least, with their predecessors; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation, and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship. With all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge: neither does it appear to me, at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration is upon any tolerable foot of security; which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects."

He then proceeds to enumerate several of those failings, among which, that which is mentioned in the following paragraph is particularly levelled at Lord Oxford. "I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in their consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due *communication* and *concert*. Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to all stations; and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully, or wisely, without that share of it, which properly belongs to him: although the main spring of a *watch* be out of sight, there is an intermediate communi-

cation between it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed. This reserved, mysterious way of acting, upon points where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and toward persons, who, at least in right of their posts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of.

"But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here: for the late dissentions between the great men at court (which have been for some time past the public entertainment of every coffee-house) are said to have arisen from the same fountain; while, on one side, very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other, have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country; and probably of a most gracious princess, who had entrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gunshot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation; of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much."

From the above passages, it is clear that Swift was determined not to spare the incision knife on this occasion. And from the whole drift of the pamphlet, it is highly probable, he had discovered that both Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke had long since lost sight of the public interest, which had at first cemented them, and had each no other object in view, but that of gratifying his ambition. It could not escape a man of his penetration, that they were in the condition of Pompey and Cæsar; whereof the one could not bear an equal, nor

the other a superior. He resolved therefore to separate himself from them both, and try what he could do apart for the public interest. As he found private admonition ineffectual to persuade, he determined to try whether public shame, and the fear of the total desertion of their party, might not compel them to a discharge of their duty. He pointed out the only means which could effectually put things once more on a proper footing; and as he well knew Lord Oxford's unwillingness to pursue those means, he was resolved to drive him to it, through the fear of his being deserted otherwise both by his party, and the queen; which is evidently the tendency of the last paragraph in this piece. "To conclude: the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very protestant succession itself, will be the lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government; and if this be not speedily done, *it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame:* for we are very well assured, that since the account her majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction during her late illness at Windsor, *she has been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do mischief*, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire."

There was no opportunity, however, of trying what effect this piece would have had, as the death of the queen, soon after it went to press, put a stop to the publication. This event also put an end to all Swift's noble designs for the public benefit, and cut off at once all his own future prospects. This was a terrible blow to the whole party; but, though it was felt by no one more severely than by Swift, he had too much fortitude to sink under it. There is an admirable picture given of him upon this occasion, by a few strokes of the masterly

hand of an Arbuthnot:* "I have seen a letter from Dean Swift; he keeps up his noble spirit, and, though like a man knocked down, you may behold him still with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his adversaries."

In a few weeks after this event, Swift returned to his deanery in Ireland, where he continued many years without visiting England.

Before we accompany him into exile, for as such he always considered it, let us take a review of his conduct during the most distinguished era of his life, when he had an opportunity of displaying all the great talents of his mind, and the excellent qualities of his heart, in a most conspicuous light. His engaging with the new ministry was not either the effect of a sudden resolution, or of accident. He had long foreseen the change, and determined what part he should take, whenever it should be brought about; although he prudently concealed his thoughts till the event happened. It was before mentioned, that Mr. Harley had very nearly succeeded in supplanting the whig ministry in the year 1708, two years before he actually effected it. While this was in agitation, we find that Swift insinuates his own intentions to his friend, the Archbishop of Dublin, in a letter, dated Nov. 9, 1708. "Although I care not to mingle public affairs with the interest of so private a person as myself, yet, upon such a revolution, not knowing how far my friends may endeavour to engage me in the service of a new government, I would beg your grace to have favourable thoughts of me on such an occasion; and to assure you, that no prospect of making my fortune, shall ever prevail upon me to go against what becomes a man of

* Letter to Pope. S.

conscience and truth, and an entire friend to the established church."

However, as the design failed at that time, Swift made no advances to the tories, but kept himself at large, waiting for the event; which he foresaw would certainly be brought about in time. He had leisure mean while to lay down to himself the maxims by which his conduct should be regulated, whenever such a revolution should take place.

As there was much obloquy thrown on the character of Swift, on account of his supposed desertion of the whigs, and going over to the tories as soon as they got into power, it will be proper to examine what foundation the whigs had for such a charge against him.

Swift, in his "Memoirs relative to the change in the queen's ministry," gives the following account of his first introduction to the leaders of the whig party. Speaking of his pamphlet, entitled "The Contests and Dissentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome," &c. he says: "This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought and read; and charged, sometimes upon Lord Somers, and sometimes upon the Bishop of Salisbury; the latter of whom told me afterward, that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened.

"Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, which was the first I ever printed, I must confess the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: upon which my Lords Somers and Halifax, as well as the bishop abovementioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness; not to mention the Earl of Sunderland,

who had been of my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the king, and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord Halifax, and was as often with Lord Somers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

"It was then I began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of whig and tory: having formerly employed myself in other, and, I think, much better speculations: I talked often with Lord Somers upon this subject; told him, that having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a whig in politics; and that besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principles, to defend the revolution: but as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise. That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some lords of the high church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever; and thought this sufficiently recompensed, by their professions of zeal to the church. That I had observed the whig lords took a direct contrary measure; treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but showed much ill will and contempt for the order in general. That I knew it was necessary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of protestants to be members of their body. That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but that the connivance or encouragement given by the whigs, to those writers of pamphlets who reflected

on the whole body of the clergy, without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them; and that I doubted his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this. My Lord Somers, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used, to redress the evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my Lord Halifax, to whom I have talked in the same manner, can very well remember; and I have indeed been told, by an honourable gentleman of the same party, that both their lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon occasion, call to mind what I had said to them five years before."

Hence it appears evidently, that though Swift agreed with the whigs in his political principles, he differed totally from them in those which regarded the church, and therefore was considered by them only as a half-brother; on which account they were not very solicitous to give him any preferment, though they wished to keep upon good terms with him, by making many fair promises, which it seems they had no intention to perform. Of this we have already seen instances in the affair of his secretaryship to Vienna, and the bishopric of Virginia. Stung with this treatment, he broke off all connexion with them long before he had access to any of the leaders of the tory party, and while the whigs were yet in the plenitude of power. Nay, he went farther, and published several pieces in opposition to their measures. Of which take the following account, given by himself in his Memoirs, &c. "I mentioned these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to show their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low party. Whereas it has been ma-

nifest to all men, that during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken. For instance, A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a Letter to the Countess of Berkeley; The Sentiments of a Church of England Man; An Argument against abolishing Christianity; and, lastly, A Letter to a Member of Parliament, against taking off the Test in Ireland, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the Earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom."

The same cry about quitting the whigs was raised against him in Ireland, of which he takes the following notice, in his Journal to Stella. "Why should the whigs think I came to England to leave them? sure my journey was no secret. I protest sincerely I did all I could to hinder it, as the dean can tell you, although now I do not repent it. But who the devil cares what they think? Am I under obligations in the least to any of them all? Rot them, for ungrateful dogs, I'll make them repent their usage before I leave this place. They say here the same thing of my leaving the whigs; but they own they cannot blame me, considering the treatment I have had."

On his arrival in London, he says, "The whigs are ravished to see me, and would lay hold on me as a twig, while they are drowning, and the great men are making me their clumsy apologies, &c. But my lord treasurer (Godolphin) received me with a great deal of coldness, which has enraged me so, I am almost vowing revenge." Soon after he says, "At ten I went to the coffee-house, hoping to find Lord Radnor, whom I had not seen. He was there; and for an hour and a half we talked treason heartily againt the whigs, their baseness and ingratitude. And I am come home rolling resentments in my mind, and

framing schemes of revenge; full of which, having written down some hints, I go to bed." In another place, "'Tis good to see what a lamentable confession the whigs all make me of my ill usage, but I mind them not. I am already represented to Harley as a discontented person, that was used ill for not being whig enough; and I hope for good usage from him." In a letter to Archbishop King, Sept. 9, 1710, he speaks more fully to the same effect. "Upon my arrival here, I found myself equally caressed by both parties; by one, as a sort of bough, for drowning men to lay hold of; and by the other, as one discontented with the late men in power, for not being thorough in their designs, and therefore ready to approve present things. I was to visit my Lord Godolphin, who gave me a reception very unexpected, and altogether different from what I ever received from any great man in my life; altogether short, dry, and morose; not worth repeating to your grace, until I have the honour to see you."

In his Journal, Oct. 2, 1710, he says, "Lord Halifax began a health to me to day; it was the *resurrection of the whigs*, which I refused, unless he would add their *reformation* too: and I told him he was the only whig in England I loved, or had any good opinion of."*

One may form a just idea of the greatness of Swift's resentment, at the treatment he had met with from the whigs, from a passage in his Journal of the following year, after the wonderful success which his writings against

* What obligation Swift had to that lord, and his party, may be seen by his indorsement on a letter dated Oct. 6, 1709. "I kept this letter as a true original of courtiers, and court promises." And in the first leaf of a small printed book, entitled, "Poësies Chrêtiennes de Mons. Jolivet," he wrote these words, "Given me by my Lord Halifax, May 3, 1709. I begged it of him, and desired him to remember, it was the only favour I ever received from him or his party."

them had met with; where he says, "I have been gaining enemies by scores, and friends by couples, which is against the rules of wisdom; because they say, one enemy can do more hurt, than ten friends can do good. But I have had my revenge at least, if I get nothing else. And so let fate govern."

I have been the longer upon this article, because, however Swift might have been acquitted of this charge in England, where the real state of the case was known, I always found the imputation keep its ground in Ireland, and his character stigmatized, as that of a turncoat for preferment under the tory administration.

We have already seen with what eagerness Lord Oxford embraced the first overtures made to him by Swift, and what pains he took to engage him in his party. As Swift well knew his own consequence, and the great necessity the new ministry had for his service, it is certain he might have indulged himself at such a juncture, in the most flattering expectations, of rising soon to the highest dignities in his profession; and could have made what terms he pleased with regard to his own interest, if that had been the chief point he had in view. But he had long formed in his head some great plans for promoting the public welfare, in regard to which, all considerations of self weighed with him but as the dust upon the balance. He therefore determined, upon his engaging with the new ministry, to make use of all the weight and credit to which his services might entitle him, in carrying on those public plans, and to leave the care of his own fortune wholly to chance. How little solicitous he was about that article, may be fully seen in a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, dated Oct. 1, 1711, where he has been very explicit, both as to his sentiments upon that head, and the conduct he was determined to observe. "I humbly thank your grace for the good opinion you

are pleased to have of me, and for your advice, which seems to be wholly grounded on it. As to the first, which relates to my fortune, I shall never be able to make myself believed how indifferent I am about it. I sometimes have the pleasure of making that of others; and I fear it is too great a pleasure to be a virtue, at least in me. Perhaps, in Ireland, I may not be able to prevent contempt, any other way than by making my fortune; but then it is my comfort, that contempt in Ireland will be no sort of mortification to me. When I was last in Ireland, I was above half the time retired to one scurvy acre of ground, and I always left it with regret. I am as well received and known at court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level; I have formerly been the like. I left it then, and perhaps will leave it now (when they please to let me) without any concern but what a few months will remove. It is my maxim to leave great ministers to do as they please; and if I cannot enough distinguish myself by being useful in such a way, as becomes a man of conscience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will solicit for myself, although I often do for others." And in another letter to the same, dated in the following year, he says, "I know nothing of promises of any thing intended for myself; but I thank God I am not very warm in my expectations, and know courts too well to be surprised at disappointments; which, however, I shall have no great reason to fear, if I give my thoughts any great trouble that way, which, without affectation, I do not, although I cannot expect to be believed when I say so."

In his journal to Stella, where the inmost recesses of his heart are opened, he makes frequent mention of his little solicitude, and small expectation on that score. In one, dated Jan. 1711, he says, "My new friends are very kind, and I have promises enough, but I do not count upon them. However, we will see what may be done,

and, if nothing at all, I shall not be disappointed." And in that of the June following, "Remember, if I am ill used, and ungratefully, as I have formerly been, 'tis what I am prepared for, and shall not wonder at. Yet I am now envied, and thought in high favour, and have every day numbers of considerable men teasing me to solicit for them. And the ministry all use me perfectly well, and all that know them, say, they love me. Yet I can count upon nothing, &c. They think me useful, they pretend they were afraid of none but me, and that they resolved to have me; they have often confessed this, yet all makes little impression on me." In that of March, 1712, he says, "I had been with the secretary before, to recommend a friend, one Dr. Freind, to be physician-general, and the secretary promised to mention it to the queen. I can serve every body but myself."

There are many passages to the same effect throughou this Journal, so that we may conclude with certainty, that the desire of serving himself was one of the last motives which engaged him to enter so deeply into the political system at that time. No, he was actuated by a nobler principle, a true spirit of patriotism. He saw now a fair opening for the exertion of his extraordinary talents, in support of our excellent constitution, both in church and state; an occasion which he had long waited for with impatience, and which he embraced with ardour. He had, as he mentions in his Journal to Stella, great things in view, to the accomplishment of which he postponed all considerations of self. Beside his political plan, he had formed the design of bringing about a general reformation in manners and taste, which had been much corrupted under the whig administration. He was firmly persuaded, that the only way to accomplish these points, was to keep them from ever returning again into power. He had a good opinion of the intentions of the new ministry;

or, whether they were sincere or not, the professed principles, upon which they acted, were consonant to his. He says, in a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, "Wanting wisdom to judge better, I follow those who, I think, are most for preserving the constitution in church and state, without examining whether they do so from a principle of virtue, or of interest." And indeed they were the only persons that could possibly have overturned the whig administration, or, when overturned, have kept them out; consequently, he could have no hope, but in their continuance in power. He early saw, and told the ministry, composed of Lord Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and the lord keeper, that all things depended on their union, and this he often repeated to them, when they were together, and separately to each. But he soon had occasion to observe, that two of them were formed of such discordant tempers, and had views so opposite, as to threaten a speedy breach. To prevent so great an evil, which would at once ruin their cause, and put an end to all his noble designs, he determined to keep himself in a situation, that would at all times qualify him for the office of a mediator between them, and at the same time give due weight to his interposition, by his remaining in a state of utter independence, and receiving no obligation in return, while he was daily conferring the greatest upon them. It was on this account that he refused to be chaplain to Lord Oxford, who made an offer of it to him, the very day after his being created Lord Oxford, and appointed lord treasurer. In his Journal to Stella, of the 24th of May, 1711, there is this passage: "My Lord Oxford cannot yet abide to be called my lord; and when I called him *my lord*, he called me *Dr. Thomas Swift*,* which he always does when he has a mind to tease me.

* A cousin german of Swift, whom he held in the utmost contempt. S.

By a second hand, he proposed my being his chaplain, which I by a second hand excused; but we had no talk of it to day; but I will be no man's chaplain alive." And in his Preface to the History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne, he says, "I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer, because I thought it would but ill become me to be in a state of dependence." For the same reason, very early after his connexion with the ministry, he refused to accept of a living from the lord keeper, which he thus mentions in his Journal: "Lord keeper told me, some months ago, he would give me a living when I pleased; but I told him I would not take any from him." There have been several instances before given of his early conduct toward the ministry, showing, that he expected to be treated by them on a footing of perfect equality; of which he never slipped any opportunity of reminding them. In a letter to the lord treasurer, he says, "When I was with you, I have said more than once, that I would never allow that quality, or station, made any real difference between men. From these sentiments, I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private person, or allow myself to have been obliged by you in any other capacity." In a letter to Lord Bolingbroke, he says, "I would have you know, sir, that if the queen gave you a dukedom and the garter to morrow, with the treasury staff at the end of them, I would regard you no more than if you were not worth a groat." To preserve this equality, which he then thought essential to the great points he had in view, it was necessary he should keep himself free from any particular obligation; by which means he was considered as a common disinterested friend by all the ministers. And it was in this capacity that he was able to heal many breaches between them, which would have been otherwise incurable. Of this he makes frequent mention in his Journal. In that of

August, 1711, he says, "Do you know that I have ventured all my credit with these great ministers, to clear some misunderstanding between them; and if there be no breach, I ought to have the merit of it? 'Tis a plaguy ticklish piece of work, and a man hazards losing both sides." In that of October following, is this passage: "The secretary told me last night he had found the reason why the queen was so cold to him for some months past; that a friend had told it to him yesterday; and it was, that they suspected he was at the bottom with the Duke of Marlborough. Then he said, he had reflected upon all I had spoken to him long ago; but he thought it had been only my suspicion, and my zeal and kindness for him. I said I had reason to take that very ill, to imagine I knew so little of the world, as to talk at a venture to a great minister, that I had gone between him and lord treasurer often, and told each of them what I had said to the other; and that I had informed him so before. He said all, you may imagine, to excuse himself and approve my conduct. I told him I knew all along, that this proceeding of mine was the surest way to send me back to my willows in Ireland, but that I regarded it not, provided I could do the kingdom service in keeping them well together. I minded him how often I had told lord treasurer, lord keeper, and him together, that all things depended on their union, and that my comfort was, to see them love one another, and I told them all singly, that I had not said this by chance," &c. In September, 1712, he says, "I am again endeavouring, as I was last year, to keep people from breaking to pieces upon a hundred misunderstandings. One cannot withhold them from drawing different ways, while the enemy is watching to destroy both." And in the October following, he says, "I have helped to patch up these people together once more. God knows how long it may

last." In many other places, he mentions the disagreeable necessity he was under of continuing his endeavours in this way, and laments that he could get no one to second him. In his "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry," &c. he says, "Neither perhaps would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle;* which together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. And, to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side, or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left, except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of. I had managed between them for almost two years, and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me."

The truth of this account is confirmed in a letter written to Lord Bolingbroke, soon after the queen's death, where, speaking of the lord treasurer, he says, "I am only sorry it was not a resignation, rather than a removal; because the personal kindness and distinction I always received from his lordship and you, gave me such a love for you both (if you great men will allow that expression in a little one) that I resolved to preserve it entire, however you differed between yourselves; and in this I did for some time follow your commands and example. I impute it more to the candour of each of you, than to my own conduct, that having been for two years almost the only man who went between you, I never ob-

served the least alteration in either of your countenances toward me."

Nothing can show the character of Swift in a higher point of light, than his conduct on this occasion; and nothing could possibly have preserved to him the unabated love of these two great rivals for power, who hated each other mortally, in the discharge of so delicate an office, but the high opinion which each entertained of his integrity, and perfect disinterestedness. However, it is certain, that had it not been for his generous and unwearied endeavours, their whole plan must have been destroyed long before, and the ministry, and the party, involved in the same ruin. So that as they were indebted to him at first, for saving them from the attacks of their enemies, and establishing them in power, they were daily afterward obliged to him for preserving them in it, by guarding them against their worst enemies, their own passions. Having thus suspended all regard to his own interest, after such important services he had an undoubted claim upon the ministers to promote every plan for the good of the public, and could with a better grace push the fortune of others. Accordingly, we find him bold and frequent in his recommendations, whenever merit or compassion called for his assistance. His first object was to procure marks of distinction and reward, to all men of parts and genius. The claim which he put in on that score to the ministry, was not selfishly confined to his own person, but exacted equally for all others, according to their several pretensions. He insisted, that no distinction of party should be made with regard to them; and that all of that class, who had listed under the banner of the whigs, should still be kept in their employments. In his Journal, he says, "Do you know I have taken more pains to recommend the whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers, than any other people? Steele

I have kept in his place. Congreve I have got to be used kindly and secured. Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place. Phillips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party mad, and made me withdraw my recommendations. I set Addison so right at first, that he might have been employed, and have partly secured him the place he has; yet I am worse used by that faction than any man." In another place he is particular in his relation of what he had done with regard to Congreve. "I went late to day to town, and dined with my friend Lewis. I saw Will Congreve, attending at the treasury, by order, with his brethren, the commissioners of the wine licences. I had often mentioned him with kindness to lord treasurer; and Congreve told me, that after they had answered to what they were sent for, my lord called him privately, and spoke to him with great kindness, promising his protection, &c. The poor man said, he had been used so ill of late years, that he was quite astonished at my lord's goodness, &c. and desired me to tell my lord so; which I did this evening, and recommended him heartily. My lord assured me he esteemed him very much, and would be always kind to him; that what he said was to make Congreve easy, because he knew people talked as if his lordship designed to turn every body out, and particularly Congreve; which indeed was true, for the poor man told me he apprehended it. As I left my lord treasurer, I called on Congreve, (knowing where he dined) and told him what had passed between my lord and me: so I have made a worthy man easy, and that's a good day's work."

But of all the men of parts in the opposition, Swift seems to be most concerned about his friend Addison, and on his account about Steele; of which he makes frequent mention in his Journal. In that of Oct. 19, 1710, soon

after his first introduction to Lord Oxford, then Mr. Harley, there is the following passage: "I was this morning with Mr. Lewis, the under secretary to Lord Dartmouth, two hours talking politics, and contriving to keep Steele in his office of stamp paper. He has lost his place of gazetteer, three hundred pounds a year, for writing a Tattler some months ago, against Mr. Harley, who gave it to him at first, and raised the salary from sixty to three hundred pounds. This was devilish ungrateful, and Lewis was telling me the particulars; but I had a hint given me that I might save him in his other employment; and leave was given me to clear matters with Steele. Well, I dined with Sir Matthew Dudley, and in the evening went to sit with Mr. Addison, and offer the matter at distance to him, as the discreeter person; but found party had so possessed him, that he talked as if he suspected me, and would not fall in with any thing I said. So I stopped short in my overture, and we parted very dryly; and I shall say nothing to Steele, and let them do as they will; but if things stand as they are, he will certainly lose it, unless I save him; and therefore I will not speak to him, that I may not report to his disadvantage. Is not this vexatious, and is there so much in the proverb of proffered service? When shall I grow wise? I endeavour to act in the most exact points of honour and conscience, and my nearest friends will not understand it so. What must a man expect from his enemies? This would vex me, but it shall not."

In that of December following, he says, "Mr. Addison and I are different as black and white, and I believe our friendship will go off by this damned business of party. He cannot bear seeing me fall in so with the ministry; but I love him still as much as ever, though we seldom meet."

In the same Journal he gives the following account: "Lewis told me a pure thing. I had been hankering with Mr. Harley, to save Steele his other employment, and have a little mercy on him; and I had been saying the same thing to Lewis, who is Mr. Harley's chief favourite. Lewis tells Mr. Harley how kindly I should take it, if he would be reconciled to Steele, &c. Mr. Harley, on my account, falls in with it: and appoints Steele a time to let him attend him, which Steele accepts with great submission, but never comes, nor sends any excuse. Whether it was blundering, sullenness, insolence, or rancour of party, I cannot tell; but I shall trouble myself no more about him. I believe Addison hindered him out of mere spite, being grated to the soul to think he should ever want my help to save his friend; yet now he is soliciting me to make another of his friends queen's secretary at Geneva, and I'll do it if I can; it is poor pastoral Phillips."

In another place he says, "I called at the coffee-house, where I had not been in a week, and talked coldly awhile with Mr. Addison; all our friendship and dearness are off: we are civil acquaintance, talk words of course, of when we shall meet, and that's all. Is it not odd? but I think he has used me ill, and I have used him too well, at least his friend Steele."

In a few weeks after, he writes thus: "I went to Mr. Addison, and dined with him at his lodgings; I had not seen him these three weeks. We are grown common acquaintance, yet what have I not done for his friend Steele? Mr. Harley reproached me the last time I saw him, that to please me he would be reconciled to Steele, and had promised and appointed to see him, and that Steele never came. Harrison, whom Mr. Addison recommended to me, I have introduced to the secretary of state, who has promised me to take care of him. And I have

represented Addison himself so to the ministry, that they think and talk in his favour, though they hated him before. Well, he is now in my debt, and there's an end; and I had never the least obligation to him, and there's another end."

In the following year, May, 1711, he says, "Steele has had the assurance to write to me, that I would engage my lord treasurer to keep a friend of his in employment." And in his Journal of July following, he says, "Mr. Addison and I have at last met again. I dined with him and Steele to day at young Jacob Tonson's. Mr. Addison and I talked as usual, and as if we had seen one another yesterday; and Steele and I were very easy, although I wrote him a biting letter, in answer to one of his, where he desired me to recommend a friend of his to lord treasurer." In the year 1712, we find he had brought Addison so far about as to dine with Lord Bolingbroke. In his Journal of that year, he says, "Addison and I, and some others, dined with Lord Bolingbroke, and sate with him till twelve. We were very civil, but yet, when we grew warm, we talked in a friendly manner of party. Addison raised his objections, and Lord Bolingbroke answered them with great complaisance."

From all these accounts, we may see what an amazing difference there was between the minds of Swift and Addison. What a grandeur in the one, what a littleness in the other! Swift, though deeply engaged with the successful party, using all his endeavours to prevent a difference in politics, from creating a disunion among men of genius: Addison, from a narrowness of mind, growing cool to a man for whose talents he had professed the highest admiration, and for whose person the warmest regard, merely because they were of different parties. Swift, in the plenitude of power, when another would have been glad of so fair a pretence for breaking off all commerce

with him, perseveres in his good offices toward him, as if their friendship were still mutual and inviolate; sets him on a good footing with the ministry, and preserves him and his friends, notwithstanding the ill behaviour of the latter, in their employments. Addison, notwithstanding he had forfeited all pretensions to Swift's friendship by his unmanly behaviour, and during the continuance of his coldness, is mean enough to solicit Swift's interest in favour of some of his friends. Swift, though never under the least obligation to Addison when he was in power, exerts his interest as if he had been under the highest; and, among others, procures for Harrison, one of Mr. Addison's recommending, an employment of no less than twelve hundred pounds a year. When, indeed, Steele had the assurance, as Swift justly expresses it, of desiring the same favour, he shows what a difference he made between the men, by sending him, as he calls it, "a biting answer." Whether it was this which exasperated Steele, or from whatever other cause it were, he some time after wrote a virulent paper in the Guardian against Swift, which produced some severe expostulations on his part, to be seen in the letters that passed between them on that occasion. Where, on Steele's part, we find the highest insolence, added to the basest ingratitude; as will immediately appear on a view of those letters. Swift, in one to Addison upon this subject, had said, "Have I deserved this usage from Mr. Steele, who knows very well that my lord treasurer has kept him in his employment, upon my entreaty and intercession?" This charge Steele answers in the most insulting manner, thus, "They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus long in office." To this Swift in his reply, says, "The case was thus: I did with the utmost application, and desiring to lay all my credit upon it, desire Mr. Harley (as he was then called) to show you mercy.

He said he would, and wholly upon my account: that he would appoint you a day to see him; that he would not expect you should quit any friend or principle. Some days after he told me he had appointed you a day, and you had not kept it; upon which he reproached me, as engaging for more than I could answer; and advised me to be more cautious another time. I told him, and desired my lord chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke to be witnesses, that I never would speak for or against you, as long as I lived; only I would desire, and that it was still my opinion, you should have mercy, till you gave farther provocations. This is the history of what you think fit to call, in the spirit of insulting, their laughing at me. And you may do it securely; for, by the most inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power, as a christian, to do you the least ill office."

After having read the several passages relative to Steele, before quoted in the Journal, no one can doubt but that Swift has here fairly stated the case, and that he might even have put it in a stronger light. It is hard to say whether Steele's weakness of head, or badness of heart, were most conspicuous in this transaction. Causelessly to attack and insult a man, to whom he lay under such obligations, argued great baseness; and his defence of himself, by denying an obligation so notoriously conferred, still more so. And to provoke a man to prove the reality of his charge, that it was he alone who had hitherto kept him in his employment, by getting him immediately discharged from it, which Swift could have done by speaking a word, was surely weak. But in that point he was secure, he knew his man too well: he knew Swift was incapable of a mean revenge. He might, as Swift nobly says to him, "do it securely;" "for (as he adds) by the most inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power, as a christian, to do

you the least ill office." Yet, though Swift was above a revenge of this sort, he thought himself called upon to answer his challenge, as a writer, and chastise his insolence in his own way. Which he afterward did so effectually, in his famous pamphlet, called "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," and in several subsequent pieces, that, from being an author of some eminence, Steele became for some time an object of ridicule and contempt. How weak, or how vain must the man have been, to have defied such a champion to so unequal a combat! I have been the longer in the detail of this transaction, because it is, perhaps, the only instance to be found of Swift's ever having broke entirely with any man with whom he had lived on terms of friendship; and to justify the extreme severity which appeared in his writings against Steele, after so great a provocation.

Having seen the care which Swift took of men of genius, so that even their opposition in party should be of no prejudice to them, we may suppose he was not less solicitous in promoting the interests of others, who were under no demerit of that sort. Accordingly we find, there were not any at that time, of the least pretensions in that way, who were not obliged to him for essential services.

The famous Dr. Berkeley, afterward Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, owed his fortune wholly to him, as he placed him in the road which led to his promotion. In his Journal of April 7, 1713, he says, "I went to court to-day, on purpose to present Mr. Berkeley, one of your fellows of Dublin college, to Lord Berkeley, of Stratton. That Mr. Berkeley is a very ingenious man, and a great philosopher; and I have mentioned him to all the ministers, and have given them some of his writings, and I will favour him as much as I can. This I think I am bound to in honour and conscience, to use all my little credit

toward helping forward men of worth in the world." He afterward got him appointed chaplain to Lord Peterborow's embassy, who procured for him the rich Deanery of Derry.

Pope, in his preface to the translation of Homer, expresses the highest obligations to him for his zeal in promoting the subscription to that work.

Gay, by his interest, was appointed secretary to the embassy to Hanover.

Harrison, a young man of promising genius, recommended to him by Mr. Addison, was made by him queen's secretary at the Hague, a place of twelve hundred pounds a year, though he lived but a short time to enjoy it.

We have already seen in what manner he introduced, and recommended Parnell to the ministry.

Nor was he unmindful of such as had but a moderate share of merit in that way. He made Dr. King gazetteer; he made Trapp chaplain to Lord Bolingbroke.

He discovered some marks of original genius in some Sea Eclogues, written by an obscure man, one Diaper, and immediately sought the author out, and brought him into light: of this he gives the following account in his Journal, December, 1712: "This morning I presented one Diaper, a poet, to Lord Bolingbroke, with a new poem, which is a very good one; and I am to give a sum of money from my lord. I have contrived to make a parson of him, for he is half one already, being in deacon's orders, and a small cure in the country; but has a sword at his tail here in town. 'Tis a poor, little, short wretch, but will do best in a gown, and we will make lord keeper give him a living."

Nor were his good offices confined to men of genius only, but merit of every kind was sure to find in him a warm advocate, and oppressed innocence, a protector.

He says in a letter to Lady Betty Germain, "When I had credit for some years at court, I provided for above fifty people in both kingdoms, of which not one was a relation." And we find, in his Journal and letters, that he did numberless good offices for others. He says, in more places than one, that Lord Oxford never once refused him any request of that sort. His character was so well known in this respect, that we see, in the collection of letters, several addresses to him from persons, either little known to him, or utterly unacquainted with him, requesting his assistance, in cases of compassion; or protection, in those of oppression. Nor did he ever fail to interfere, in either cases, when any such came to his knowledge by accident, though it were with regard to perfect strangers. There was one remarkable occasion, on which he interposed in favour of a man, though he held him in no degree of estimation, merely from a principle of justice; which was, in the case of the famous Dr. Sacheverell: who, though he had been of infinite use to the tory ministry, nay, was in reality the occasion of their getting into power, yet, when the work was done, was laid by, as the tools of statesmen too often are, when they can be of no farther use, and utterly neglected. That Swift was of this opinion, is clear from the following passage in his Journal: "So Sacheverell will be the next bishop! He would be glad of an addition of two hundred pounds a year to what he has, and that is more than they will give him, for aught I see. He hates the new ministry mortally, and they hate him, and pretend to despise him too. They will not allow him to have been the occasion of the late change, at least some of them will not: but my lord keeper owned it to me the other day." Swift therefore thought it but common justice in the ministry to do something for him; and, without any application from the doctor, or even any per-

sonal acquaintance with him, in the year 1711, he procured a place for his brother; who, by a failure in trade, had for some years, together with his whole family, been entirely supported by the doctor. This affair is thus related by Swift in his Journal. "Did I tell you that Sacheverell has desired mightily to come and see me? but I have put it off. He has heard that I have spoken to the secretary in behalf of a brother whom he maintains, and who desires an employment. T'other day, at the court of requests, Dr. Yalden saluted me by name; Sacheverell, who was just by, came up to me, and made many acknowledgments and compliments. Last night I desired lord treasurer to do something for that brother of Sacheverell. He said he never knew he had a brother; but thanked me for telling him, and immediately put his name in his table-book. I will let Sacheverell know this, that he may take his measures accordingly; but he shall be none of my acquaintance." A letter from the doctor to Swift, dated Jan. 31, 1711-12, begins thus: "Since you have been pleased to undertake the generous office of soliciting my good lord treasurer's favour in my behalf, I should be very ungrateful, if I did not return you my most hearty thanks for it, and my humblest acknowledgments to his lordship for the success it has met with." And in the conclusion, he says, "But for yourself, good doctor, who were the first spring to move it, I can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligation." Afterward, in the year 1713, soon after the three years' silence imposed upon the doctor by the house of lords, in consequence of his impeachment, had expired, Swift procured for him the rectory of St. Andrew's Holborn, in the following whimsical manner. Upon that living's becoming vacant, he applied for it in behalf of Sacheverell, to Lord Bolingbroke; who seemed not at all disposed in his favour, calling him "a busy.

meddling, factious fellow, one who had set the kingdom in a flame." To which Swift replied "It is all true, my lord; but let me tell you a story. In a sea-fight, in the reign of Charles II. there was a very bloody engagement between the English and Dutch fleets; in the heat of which, a Scotch seaman was very severely bit by a louse on his neck, which he caught, and stooping down to crack it, just as he had put himself in that posture, a chain-shot came and took off the heads of several sailors that were about him; on which he had compassion on the poor louse, returned him to his place, and bid him live there at discretion; for, said he, as thou hast been the means of saving my life, it is but just I should save yours." Lord Bolingbroke laughed heartily, and said, "Well then, the louse shall have the living for your story." And accordingly he was soon after presented to it. In all solicitations of this nature, conscious of the goodness of his motives, which were either those of merit, compassion, or justice, he was bold in his recommendations, and made them rather as demands, than requests. Of this we have an instance in the following passage of his Journal, Jan. 1711-12. "This morning I presented my printer and bookseller to Lord Rivers, to be stationer to the ordnance. I believe it will be worth three hundred pounds a year to them. This is the third employment I have got for them. Rivers told them the doctor commanded him, and he durst not refuse." And in the next page, he says, "I was this morning again with Lord Rivers, and have made him give the other employment * to my printer and bookseller; 'tis worth a great deal." His bookseller was

* This *other employment* was a reversion of the patent of queen's printer after the expiration of the then grant to Mr. Baskett, to commence in January, 1739. N.

Tooke, and his printer, Barber, afterward lord mayor of London. As they were both very honest men, and ran great risks in publishing some of his bolder pieces, for which Barber was also taken into custody, he thought he could not reward their services and fidelity too highly; and we find, upon the whole, he procured employments for them, to the amount of nearly two thousand pounds a year. This was the foundation of Barber's fortune, which he always acknowledged, with the highest gratitude,† and to the last made every return in his power to his great patron.‡ The expression of Lord Rivers, "that the doctor commanded him, and he durst not refuse," was literally true; not only with regard to him, but to all the ministry, who seemed to look up to him as to one of a superior class of mortals; both on account of his amazing talents, and that noble quality of perfect disinterestedness, perhaps not to be paralleled in his time, and rarely to be found in the annals of history. This gave such a dignity to his character, and such a weight to his recommendations, that it does not appear he ever failed in any. And indeed it would have been strange, that the men in power should have refused any request of that sort, which tended highly to their own honour, by promoting men of talents and worth, to a man who was daily employed in doing them the most important services, without once hinting at any return for them to himself. In this state did this extraordinary man continue for near three years, without the smallest reward, or the least addition to his fortune, which consisted only of a living of about two hundred and fifty pounds a year, and not quite five hundred pounds in cash; at the same time that he was in such a degree of power, that he was mak-

† See under the Epistolary Correspondence, July 22, 1732. N.
‡ By his last will, he gave the Dean a legacy of 200*l*. N.

ing the fortune of multitudes. Thus did he verify his early declaration to the Archbishop of Dublin, before quoted. Nothing astonished the people of those times more, than that so distinguished a man, and apparently in such high favour, should have remained, for such a length of time, without any promotion: and that he should at last be rewarded only with a paltry deanery, in another kingdom, to which he went with the utmost reluctance, and which was looked upon by himself, as well as by the world, only as a species of banishment, has ever since been considered in so extraordinary a light, that various have been the conjectures of the world to account for it. Some, who knew Swift's real merits toward the ministry, have not been backward in charging them with the basest ingratitude on the occasion. Others, not so well acquainted with the history of those times, thought it was impossible Swift could have been a man of such importance as he was represented, otherwise he must certainly have made his way to the highest station in the church; and considering him only as the writer of some political papers and pamphlets, were not surprised that his reward should be no greater. But, since the publication of the private memoirs of those times, in Swift's last volumes, there is no farther room for conjecture, as this whole affair may be set in its true light, upon undoubted proofs. I have already given many striking instances of the little solicitude Swift had about pushing his own fortune. I shall now remind the reader of the principle upon which he acted, mentioned in a passage before quoted, from a letter of his to the Archbishop of Dublin, dated Oct. 1, 1711. "It is my maxim to leave great ministers to do as they please; and if I cannot distinguish myself enough, by being useful in such a way as becomes a man of conscience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will

solicit for myself, although I often do for others." This resolution we find, by many other passages, he strictly adhered to; and when we consider the procrastinating disposition of Lord Oxford, we shall not be surprised at his not being in any haste to provide for a man who never solicited him. Nothing is more common than the deferring of any thing, however strongly in our intention it be to do it some time or other, which we consider as always in our power to do, unless we are particularly called upon to carry it into execution at some certain time: and this was more likely to be the case in one of his turn. Besides, as he was daily gratifying Swift in his requests for others, he thought he might with reason expect that he should wait the most convenient season for his own promotion. And with regard to Swift himself, I have already assigned some very powerful motives, which made him in no haste with respect to preferment. But above all, there were many things, while he remained in that situation, which gratified his peculiar disposition and turn of mind to the height. His proud spirit was much fonder of conferring, than receiving obligations. In his Journal to Stella of March, 1711-12, where he says, he can do nothing for himself, he adds, "I don't care, I shall have ministers, and other people obliged to me." And he did not wish to receive any return for his services, till they were swelled to such a height, as to make any reward, how great soever, fall short of their value, and so free him from any debt on the score of obligation. He had all this time an opportunity of displaying the pride of independence, and of showing that by his own talents and intrinsic worth, without any of the usual aids in life, he could raise himself to a higher degree of consequence and power, than others could do by noble birth, high station, or enormous wealth. It must have been no small gratification to him, to think that it was to

this little Vicar of Laracor, that the ministry were indebted for remaining in their posts; that he was their protector and preserver in those posts, in spite of their enemies, and of themselves. That by degrees he grew into such confidence with them, that there was nothing done in public affairs without consulting him; and that the world in general considered him as the *primum mobile* of all their conduct, insomuch, that there were many speeches made against him by name, on that account, both in the house of lords and commons. That he should have the greatest men, foreign ambassadors, &c. soliciting the ministry, through him, for favours. That his acquaintance should be courted by persons of the highest rank, and obtained only by a few, not on the score of their quality, or fortune, but merit. Was there not a secret pride in receiving these, in a lodging of eight shillings a week, and walking to the doors of all the greatest men of the age, which flew open at his approach? Never sure was a greater triumph of parts and virtue, over the usual idols of the world. To the immortal honour of Swift be it recorded, that he was the first man of letters and genius that we read of, who asserted the superiority of talents over titles, of virtue over wealth, in the face of the great and the rich; and not content with vain speculations, and idly declaiming on the subject, as all others had done, boldly demanded and received the homage due to such superiority both for himself and others. This he could never have done, had he not convinced the great that however they might stand in need of his assistance, he wanted not theirs. That he could be perfectly content with his present fortune, small as it was, and return to his willows at a day's notice, on any ill treatment, without the least reluctance. That they could have no hold on him either on the score of avarice, or ambition. As to the former, the noble resentment which he showed to the first attempt of Lord

Oxford, to lay him under a pecuniary obligation; the indignation which he expressed on two or three occasions, on bribes being offered to him for his interest; and, above all, his scorning to make any advantage of his works,* so contrary to the established practice of all other authors, showed that he was unassailable in that way. And as to ambition, his whole conduct proved that he was determined to owe his rise wholly to his own merits, and not to any solicitation or interest on his behalf. In short, from his many declarations, to others, in his letters before quoted, as well as those made to his bosom friend in his Journal, and from the whole tenour of his actions, consonant to those declarations, we may see that Swift, upon joining with the new ministry, had laid down this rule for his conduct; that he would serve the public interests, and the common cause, to the utmost of his powers; that he would exert all his influence in promoting men of talents and worth; and with regard to his own fortune, leave it wholly to chance, and court gratitude; of which, however, he had so mean an opinion from former experience, that he relied little on it, and was perfectly prepared against any disappointment. In his Journal of January, 1710-11, he says, "My new friends are very kind, and I have promises enough, but I do not count upon them; and besides, my pretences are very young to them. However, we shall see what may be done, and if nothing at all, I shall not be disappointed, although perhaps poor M. D.† may, and then I shall be sorrier for their sakes than my own."

*As an instance of this, he says, in his Journal of November 1711, "I am sorry I sent you the Examiner, for the printer is going to print them in a small volume. It seems the author is too proud to have them printed by subscription, though his friends offered, they say, to make it worth five hundred pounds to him." S.

† By M. D. is generally meant Stella, though sometimes it stands for Stella and Mrs. Dingley. S.

And in that of June following, he says, "Remember, if I am used ill and ungratefully, as I have formerly been, 'tis what I am prepared for, and shall not wonder at it." And in that of October following, he says to Stella, "I have no shuddering at all to think of retiring to my old circumstances, if you can be easy."

But while Swift was thus letting occasions slip, and the ministers deferring the reward of his services, there was a cabal forming at court, which put a stop to his promotion for a while, and had nearly prevented a possibility of it during that reign. It is to be observed, that however high he was in favour with the ministry, it does not appear that he ever stood well with the queen, or that she once gave him the least mark of her countenance or favour. Swift had mentioned to Stella, early in his Journal, that Mr. Harley had said, he would present him to the queen; but in his subsequent one of January, 1710-11, he says, "Mr. Harley, of late, has said nothing of presenting me to the queen. I was overseen when I mentioned it to you. He has such a weight of affairs on him, that he cannot mind all; but he talked of it three or four times to me, long before I dropt it to you." Nor does it appear afterward, through the course of the Journal, that this was ever done, or that the queen took the least notice of him. On the contrary, it is to be seen in many places of Swift's works, that she had imbibed strong prejudices against him; first, from Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, who represented him as a freethinker, or infidel; a character which that religious queen must, above all others, detest in a clergyman; and next, from the Dutchess of Somerset, her favourite, who hated Swift mortally, and took every opportunity of representing him in the worst colours to her royal mistress. But, above all, the queen had a reason of her own for disliking

Swift, as he was constantly employed in endeavouring to counteract her favourite plan. What that was, will sufficiently appear from the following extracts. In his Journal to Stella, so early as February, 1710-11, he says, "I'll tell you one great state secret: the queen, sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into t'other extreme, and is jealous in that point, even of those who got her out of the other's hands." He hints the same in other passages of his Journal. But in some of his tracts, published since his death, he is quite explicit on this article, and has laid open a secret spring of government, which was constantly operating during the last four years of that queen; and which being concealed, except from a very few, rendered the proceedings of the first minister wholly unaccountable to his friends at that time, and to all since who have entered into an examination of his conduct; but which being now disclosed, at once solves a riddle, hitherto thought inexplicable. In his tract, entitled, "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710," there is the following passage: "She (the queen) grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed on, by an overcaution, she would impose upon herself. She took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service, nor would let them be done, until she fell into the humour of it herself." In another tract, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry," there is a passage to the same effect. "But in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred on the other extreme.

When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but if the treasurer offered at the same time a warrant, or other instrument to her, already prepared, in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon on her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or that even the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy, but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest, that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it."

Hence it is evident, that the queen, who had long been weary of the bondage in which she was held by the whig ministry, was determined, upon a change, that she would not bring herself into the same predicament again, but was resolved to show that she had a will of her own, and that she would exert it; and, in order to be able to do this effectually, her plan was, not to suffer the tory interest to grow too strong, but to keep such a number of whigs still in office, as should be a constant check upon her ministers, against any encroachments of that sort. In the above mentioned tract, there are several passages that prove this point. In one it is said, "It is most certain, when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons; and those persons were a very small number. And afterward, when, upon some events, things were pushed farther than she at first intended, it was with great regret she saw some of the principal great officers among the whigs resign their employments." For, says the author, "she had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from, until about half a year

before her death." This conduct, no doubt, was good policy in the queen, in order to preserve a due share of authority to herself; but at the same time her minister suffered extremely by it, who bore the brunt of all this trimming and moderation, which were imputed to some secret designs of his own, and caused incurable jealousies and suspicions in his friends, as well as the whole tory party. Of this Swift gives the following account in the same tract. "I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise: for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding, in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not answer; and that in the mean time he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure, who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him. His answer was short and cold; that he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished that none, but those who loved the church and queen, were employed, but that all could not be done on a sudden. I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act; while, in reality, he had little or none; and besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the queen, his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and

suspicious; and from the opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever perhaps a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other." In another part of the same tract, there is a passage to the same effect. "Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein I am confident he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put farther difficulties in his way. The queen, having thought fit to take the key from the Dutchess of Marlborough, it was, after some time, given to another great lady (the Dutchess of Somerset) wholly in the interests of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privilege of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light, I shall only observe, that as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily more difficult, and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were indeed used to divert her majesty from this choice; but she continued steady, and pleaded, that if she might not have the liberty of choosing her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry: and so little was her heart set upon what they call a high church, or tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commis-

sions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings." And, as a farther confirmation of the queen's disposition in this respect, he says, in the second part of the above tract, "Her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a lady * in high favour with her, has frequently assured me, that whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons, who upon all occasions, with great virulence, opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and at the same time condemn her for too much party zeal."

Such being the queen's system of conduct, it is evident that Swift must have been more obnoxious to her than any man living, as he was the most unwearied in his endeavours to counteract her views, by rooting out the whigs entirely, and therefore she must constantly have looked upon him with an evil eye. But when at last he made a direct attempt to get her to discharge her favourite, the Dutchess of Somerset, in a copy of verses addressed to the queen, the most bitter, with regard to the dutchess, perhaps, that ever was penned, called "The Windsor Prophecy;" the queen gave evident marks of her displeasure, and took afterward an opportunity of showing her resentment to the author, by proclaiming a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the author of a pamphlet called "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," which she knew to have been written by Swift, in support of the ministry. This fact he has commemorated, in a copy of verses on himself, where, speaking of the Dutchess of Somerset, he says,

* Lady Masham. S.

"From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the royal ear instils.
The queen incens'd, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot:
Now thro' the realm a proclamation spread,
To fix a price on his devoted head:
While innocent, he scorns ignoble flight,
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight."

And in the Preface to his "History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne," he says, "I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise, which the queen well knew to have been written by me."

From all that has been offered upon this head, we may clearly deduce the reason why Swift remained such a length of time without any promotion, and may fairly exonerate Lord Oxford from the charges made against him on that score. It is now evident, though before it was a secret to the world, that he had by no means that degree of power which he was supposed to enjoy, in any matter whatever, but in any point that did not fall in with her majesty's pleasure, he had none at all, much less therefore in such as she was set against. Among which number, that of the promotion of Dr. Swift, for the reasons above mentioned, seems to have been one. If, as he has related, "her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party;" how much more strongly must this have operated with regard to him, whose zeal in the cause he had espoused, transported him so beyond all bounds of moderation, as to keep no measures even with her, though he well knew her disposition. Of this he gave a strong proof in "The Windsor Prophecy;" the tendency of which was, to prevail on her ma-

jesty to remove the Dutchess of Somerset, the patroness of the whig cause, by the most bitter invectives on her character, from her post: and to receive Mrs. Masham, who was equally attached to the tory interest, in her place. He was so indiscreet as to give orders for the publication of that piece, which would have been done, had not Mrs. Masham prevented it. Of this he gives the following account, in his Journal of December, 1711. "I called at noon at Mrs. Masham's, who desired me not to let the Prophecy be published, for fear of angering the queen about the Dutchess of Somerset; so I wrote to the printer, to stop them. They have been printed, and given about, but not sold." And a little lower, he says, "I entertained our society at the Thatch'd House tavern to day at dinner; but brother Bathurst sent for wine, the house affording none. The printer had not received my letter, and so he brought us a dozen a piece of the Prophecy; but I ordered him to part with no more. 'Tis an admirable good one, and people are mad for it."

As this society consisted of sixteen, we here see there was a sufficient number got abroad, to have it generally spread; so that it was no difficult matter for the dutchess to procure a copy, which she kept by her in *petto*, till she should find a convenient season for wreaking her revenge. This soon offered itself, when he was recommended to the queen for a vacant bishoprick, from which he was precluded by the dutchess, in the manner before related. Whoever reads that Prophecy, is acquainted with the queen's disposition, and knows the ascendency which the dutchess maintained over her to the last, will not wonder that Swift remained so long without promotion. That Lord Oxford was solicitous for his friend's preferment, appears from his recommending him so early to a bishoprick, which was a fact of general notoriety at that time, and since confirmed to me by good authority. And the

reasons are now equally obvious, why it was not in the lord treasurer's power to promote him afterward; though it is probable that he studiously concealed this from Swift, as he might think the discovery of his inability to serve him might have sent him back to his willows, at a time when he most needed his assistance. But to make him amends, he showed him every personal kindness in his power, provided for all whom he recommended, and never, as Swift himself declares, refused him any thing that he asked.

In this situation Swift remained during the space of two years and a half, from his first acquaintance with the ministry, often declaring to Stella, that he was weary of the scene in which he was engaged, and of the part which he took in it; frequently expressing an earnest desire of returning to his former situation, and declaring as often, that nothing restrained him from doing it, but that he thought himself obliged, both in honour and duty, not to desert the cause in which he was engaged, and of which he was the great champion, till he had done every thing in his power toward the establishment and support of it; when therefore he had nearly finished his "History of the Peace of Utrecht," which was the last work he proposed on the subject, he determined to stay no longer, unless something honourable were done for him. At this juncture, there happened to be vacant three deaneries in Ireland, and a canonry of Windsor, with some other church preferments in England. Swift therefore silently resolved, if there were no notice taken of him on this occasion, to return to Laracor, and have done with courts for ever. The account we have of this in his Journal written to the hour, will best represent to us his state of mind at that time. Journal, April 13, 1713. "This morning my friend Mr. Lewis came to me, and showed me an order for a warrant for the three vacant deaneries,

but none of them to me. This was what I always foresaw, and received the notice of it better, I believe, than he expected. I bid Mr. Lewis tell my lord treasurer, *that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the queen would do nothing for me.* At noon, lord treasurer hearing I was in Mr. Lewis's office, came to me, and said many things too long to repeat. I told him, I had nothing to do but go to Ireland immediately, for I could not, with any reputation, stay longer here, unless I had something honourable immediately given to me. We dined together at the Duke of Ormond's. He there told me he had stopped the warrants for the deans, that what was done for me might be at the same time, and he hoped to compass it to night; but I believe him not. I told the Duke of Ormond my intentions. He is content Sterne should be a bishop, and I have St. Patrick's, but I believe nothing will come of it, for stay I will not; and so I believe you will see me in Dublin before April ends. I am less out of humour than you would imagine; and if it were not that impertinent people would condole with me as they used to give me joy, I would value it less. But I still avoid company, and muster up my baggage, and send them next Monday by the carrier to Chester, and go see my willows, against the expectation of all the world.

"14th. I dined in the city to day, and ordered a lodging to be got ready for me, against I came to pack up my things; for I will leave this end of the town as soon as ever the warrants for the deaneries are out, which are yet stopped. Lord treasurer told Lewis that it should be determined to-night; and so he will say a hundred nights; so he said yesterday, but I value it not. My daily Journals shall be but short, till I get into the city, and then I will send away this, and follow it myself;

I design to walk it all the way to Chester, my man and I, by ten miles a day. It will do my health a great deal of good. I shall do it in fourteen days.

"15th. Lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him to day (I was as good company as ever) and told me the queen would determine something for me to-night. *The dispute is*, WINDSOR or ST. PATRICK'S. I told him I would not stay for their disputes, and he thought I was in the right. Lord Masham told me, that Lady Masham is angry I have not been to see her since this business, and desires I will come to-morrow.

"16th. I was this noon at Lady Masham's, who was just come from Kensington, where her eldest son is sick. She said much to me of what she had talked to the queen and lord treasurer. *The poor lady fell a shedding of tears openly. She could not bear to think of my having St. Patrick's, &c.* I was never more moved than to see so much friendship. I would not stay with her, but went and dined with Dr. Arbuthnot, with Mr. Berkeley, one of your fellows, whom I have recommended to the doctor, &c. Mr. Lewis tells me, that the Duke of Ormond has been to day with the queen, and she was content that Dr. Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I dean of St. Patrick's; *but then out came lord treasurer, and said, that he would not be satisfied, but that I must be a prebendary of Windsor.* Thus he perplexes things. *I expect neither;* but I confess, as much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment, that if I had my choice, I would rather have St. Patrick's. Lady Masham says, she will speak to the purpose to the queen to-morrow.

"17th. I went to dine at Lady Masham's to day, and she was taken ill of a sore throat, and is aguish. She spoke to the queen last night, but had not much time. The queen says, she will determine to-morrow with lord treasurer. The warrants for the deaneries are still stop-

ped, for fear I should be gone. Do you think any thing will be done? I don't care whether there is or no. In the mean time, I prepare for my journey, and see no great people, nor will see lord treasurer any more, if I go. Lord treasurer told Mr. Lewis it should be done to night, so he said five nights ago.

"18th. This morning Mr. Lewis sent me word, that lord treasurer told him the queen would determine at noon. At three, lord treasurer sent to me to come to his lodgings at St. James's, and told me the queen was at last resolved that Dr. Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I, dean of St. Patrick's, and that Sterne's warrant should be drawn immediately. *You know the deanery is in the Duke of Ormond's gift; but this is concerted between the queen, lord treasurer, and Duke of Ormond; to make room for me.* I do not know whether it will yet be done; some unlucky accident may yet come. Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland; *and I confess I thought the ministry would not let me go; but perhaps they cannot help it.*

"19th. I forgot to tell you, that lord treasurer forced me to dine with him yesterday, as usual, with his Saturday company, which I did, after frequent refusals. To day I dined with a private friend, and was not at court. After dinner, Mr. Lewis sent me word, that the queen stayed till she knew whether the Duke of Ormond approved of Sterne for a bishop. I went this evening, and found the Duke of Ormond at the Cockpit, and told him, and desired he would go to the queen, and approve of Sterne. *He made objections*, and desired I would name any other deanery, for he did not like Sterne; that Sterne never went to see him; that he was influenced by the Archbishop of Dublin, &c. so all is now broken again. I sent out for lord treasurer, and told him this. *He says,*

all will do well; but I value not what he says. This suspense vexes me worse than any thing else.

"20th. I went to day by appointment to the Cockpit, to talk with the Duke of Ormond. He repeated the same proposals of any other deanery, &c. I desired he would put me out of the case, and do as he pleased. Then, with great kindness he said he would consent; but would do it for no man else but me, &c. And so perhaps something will come of it. I can't tell.

"21st. The Duke of Ormond has told the queen, he is satisfied Sterne should be bishop, and she consents I shall be dean; and I suppose warrants will be drawn in a day or two. I dined at an alehouse with Parnell and Berkeley; for I am not in a humour to go among the ministers, though Lord Dartmouth invited me to dine with him to day, and lord treasurer was to be there. I said I would, if I were out of suspense.

"22d. The queen says, the warrants shall be drawn, but she will dispose of all in England and Ireland at once, to be teased no more. This will delay it some time, and while it is delayed, I *am not sure of the queen, my enemies being busy.* I hate this suspense.

"23d. I dined yesterday with General Hamilton: I forgot to tell you. I write short Journals now. I have eggs on the spit. This night the queen has signed all the warrants, among which, Sterne is bishop of Dromore; and the Duke of Ormond is to send over an order for making me dean of St. Patrick's. I have no doubt of him at all. I think 'tis now past. But you see what a condition I am in. I thought I was to pay but six hundred pounds for the house, but the bishop of Clogher says eight hundred pounds; first fruits, about one hundred and fifty pounds Irish; and so with a patent, &c. a thousand pounds in all: so that I shall not be the better for the deanery these three years. I hope, in some

time, they will be persuaded here to give me some money to pay off these debts. I must finish the book I am writing, before I can go over; and they expect I shall pass next winter here, and then I will drive them to give me a sum of money. However, I hope to pass four or five months with you. I received your's to night; just ten weeks since I had your last. I shall write next post to Bishop Sterne. Never man had so many enemies in Ireland as he. I carried it with the strongest hand possible. If he does not use me well, and gently, in what dealings I shall have with him, he will be the most ungrateful of mankind. *The archbishop of York, my mortal enemy, has sent, by a third hand, that he would be glad to see me. Shall I see him or not?* I hope to be over in a month. I shall answer your rattle soon; but no more Journals. I shall be very busy. Short letters from henceforward. I shall not part with Laracor; that is all I have to live on, except the deanery be worth more than four hundred pounds a year.* Is it? Pray write me a good humour'd letter immediately, let it be ever so short. This affair was carried with great difficulty, which vexes me. But they say here, it is much to my reputation, *that I have made a bishop, in spite of all the world, and to get the best deanery in Ireland.*†

"26th. I was at court to day, and a thousand people gave me joy; so I ran out. I dined with Lady Orkney. Yesterday I dined with lord treasurer, and his Saturday people, as usual; and was so *be-dean'd, &c. The archbishop of York says he will never more speak against me.*"

From an examination of this extract, we shall clearly see, that the great obstacle to Swift's preferment, was the prejudice conceived against him by the queen, and not

* This deanery was worth more than seven hundred. S.

† The most considerable in point of rank, but not income. S.

any neglect or want of friendship in the ministry. He seems to have been himself of this opinion, where he says, upon finding that none of the deaneries were given to him, "I bid Mr. Lewis tell my lord treasurer, *that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the queen would do nothing for me.*"

And afterward, in the progress of this affair, he expresses his suspicion more strongly in that point, where he says, "This will delay it some time, and while it is delayed, *I am not sure of the queen, my enemies being busy. I hate this suspense.*" It is evident, also, that the lord treasurer, upon hearing Swift's declaration to Mr. Lewis, was greatly alarmed, and began to bestir himself with all his might. The warrants for the deans were immediately stopped, to prevent Swift's departing, as he threatened he would. And though the affair was not carried on with that despatch, which Swift's impatience required, yet it is evident, the treasurer was exerting his utmost endeavours to accomplish the point for him in his own way. He was by no means satisfied that his friend should be sent to Ireland, and was therefore using all his influence to get him a canonry of Windsor, which he knew also would be much more agreeable to him. The affair of the deanery was easily settled, as we see from the following passage in the Journal: "Mr. Lewis tells me, that the Duke of Ormond has been to-day with the queen, and she was content that Dr. Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I, dean of St. Patrick's; but then out came lord treasurer, and said, he would not be satisfied, but that I must be a prebendary of Windsor. Thus he perplexes things," &c. In the whole progress of this affair, Swift speaks peevishly of the lord treasurer, and, with all the captiousness of a jealous lover, who will not come to an explanation. The treasurer

was really exerting all his endeavours to serve his friend, in the way which he knew would be most agreeable to him; though, according to his usual reserve, he did not care to inform him of the difficulties in his way. And Swift, who was too proud to inquire into this, suspected him either of want of zeal, or indulging his usual procrastination, which is obvious, from all the expressions relative to him in the above quotations. But the truth of the whole matter appears to be this: The queen was willing enough that Swift should have a moderate provision made for him in Ireland, in order to send him into banishment, in a decent, though not very honourable manner. And the minister, on the other hand, wanted to keep him with him at all events. We find, with regard to the Windsor promotion, the queen continued inflexible, not only against the solicitations of the treasurer, but of Lady Masham, who was her nearest favourite, after the Dutchess of Somerset. How zealous that lady was in his cause, may be seen in a passage of the above quotation, where, speaking of her, he says, "She said much to me of what she had talked to the queen and lord treasurer. *The poor lady fell a shedding of tears openly. She could not bear to think of my having St. Patrick's,*" &c.

We find afterward, when the lord treasurer saw that the queen was obstinate with regard to this point, there was another bar thrown in the way of Swift's promotion in Ireland, probably contrived between him and the Duke of Ormond; which was, that the duke should demur against Sterne's being made a bishop; nor can this change in the Duke of Ormond, when he had before consented to Sterne's promotion, be rationally accounted for in any other way. This probably was the treasurer's last effort, to oblige the queen to do something for Swift in England; but when Swift himself continued re-

solute in the other point, probably on a suspicion, that the queen could not be wrought upon to prefer him in England, and urged the Duke of Ormond to the accomplishment of it, and upon his demurring, expressed himself resentfully; the duke, who loved Swift sincerely, could stand it no longer, but, as Swift mentions in the Journal, "with great kindness, he said he would consent, but would do it for no man else but me," &c.

But there is one circumstance in this transaction, that seems very unaccountable; which is, that Swift was not immediately made bishop of Clogher, instead of dean of St. Patrick's. We do not find, that Dr. Sterne had one friend in the world to recommend him, but Swift himself. On the contrary, we see he was obnoxious to the ministry, but particularly so to the Duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, who was chiefly to be consulted in the disposal of preferments there. When it comes to the push, the only objection the duke offers to Swift's getting St. Patrick's, is his dislike of Sterne, and the reluctance he shows at his being promoted to a bishopric. Now, was not this difficulty easily smoothed away by making Swift at once bishop of Clogher? And would not the ministry have been all much better pleased to place him in that see, than a man who was at best indifferent to them, but certainly obnoxious to some, and those the principal among them? It may therefore be surmised, that this was a point not attempted, because they were sure the queen would never consent to make him a bishop, while her displeasure continued so high against him, though she was willing to send him into exile, in so moderate a station, as that of dean, even at the expense of promoting a man of no weight or consideration, to a higher station, to make room for him. And the ministry certainly showed the greatest readiness to gratify him in any thing which he should desire, when they

consented to the promotion of a man, whom they disliked, to make room for his preferment, in a way also which they did not approve of, merely because he made a point of it. So that, however small a recompense the deanery itself might have been considered for Swift's services, yet as there was a bishopric bestowed at the same time, purely to make way for this, and to be charged wholly to his account, the ministry certainly cannot be taxed with a want of a due sense of his merits, and a suitable desire of rewarding them. And however out of humour he might be, where he says, "This affair was carried with great difficulty, which vexes me;" yet he very justly adds, "But they say here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a bishop in spite of all the world, and to get the best deanery in Ireland." He afterward shows how entirely this was his work, against all opposition, where he says, "I shall write next post to Bishop Sterne. Never man had so many enemies in Ireland as he; I carried it with the strongest hand possible. If he does not use me well, and gently, in what dealings I shall have with him, he will be the most ungrateful of mankind."

In his whole account of this transaction, which exhibits a lively picture of his state of mind to the moment, he seems to have been much under the influence of humour. Though he was conscious that the queen herself was the chief bar to his promotion, yet he speaks as peevishly of the treasurer, as if the sole blame lay with him. At one time he seems earnest about obtaining St. Patrick's, and is angry with the treasurer for putting any rub in the way, though in favour of another measure, which would certainly have pl ased him more. When he mentions the queen's having consented to Swift's arrangement of the bishopric and deanery, he adds, much out of humour, "but then out came lord treasurer, and

said he would not be satisfied, but that I must be a prebendary of Windsor. Thus he perplexes things. I expect neither; but I confess, as much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment, that if I had my choice, I would rather have St. Patrick's." And yet in his Journal of the 18th, the day but one after this, when he learns from the treasurer, that the queen was at last resolved upon the arrangement proposed, he says, "Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland,* and I confess I thought the ministry would not let me go; *but perhaps they cannot help it.*" How contrary is this to his former declaration! But in the whole of this affair, Swift seems to have been deserted by his usual firmness of mind, and to have acted with the frowardness of an humoursome child, who either does not know his own mind, or will not tell it; and yet expects that others should find it out, and do what he wants.

Another reason for his not desiring to procure the bishopric for himself, might perhaps arise from his supposing, that this might be considered as a full equivalent for his services, and the *ne plus ultra* of his preferment, to the exclusion of all future prospects in England, where all his wishes centred. But I am persuaded, that the chief motive to his extraordinary conduct on this occasion, and his so pertinaciously adhering to that particular mode, and no other, of providing for him in opposition to the desire of his best friends, and particularly of the Duke of Ormond, was, that he had promised to make Sterne a bishop the first opportunity. As he was remarkably tenacious of his word, he was determined to

* When he went to take possession of the deanery, he did not stay in Dublin more than a fortnight, where he did not return one visit of a hundred, which, as he said, were all to the Dean, and none to the Doctor. He retired to the parsonage of Laracor, preferring a field bed and an earthen floor to the large Deanery-house which belonged to him in Dublin."

keep it on this occasion, though he seems, by some expressions, not to have looked upon Sterne as his friend, but rather to have resentment against him, on account of some ill treatment received at his hands.* In his Journal to Stella, October 28, 1712, he says, "I had a letter to-day from Dr. Coghill, desiring me to get Raphoe for Dean Sterne, and the deanery for myself. I shall indeed, *I have such obligations to Sterne.* But, however, if I am asked who will make a good bishop, I shall name him before any body."

In the February following, he says, in the same Journal, "I did not write to Dr. Coghill, that I would have nothing in Ireland, but that I was soliciting nothing any where, and this is true. I have named Dr. Sterne to lord treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, for a bishopric, and I did it heartily. I know not what will come of it; but I tell you, as a great secret, that I have made the Duke of Ormond promise me to recommend no body till he tells me, and this for some reasons, too long to mention."

* The cause of his resentment is thus set forth, in a letter to Sterne, then bishop of Clogher, dated July, 1733. "When I first came acquainted with you, we were both private clergymen in a neighbourhood: you were afterward chancellor of St. Patrick's, then was chosen dean, in which election, I was the most busy of all your solicitors. When the compromise was made between the government and you, to make you easy, and Dr. Synge chancellor, you absolutely and frequently promised to give me the curacy † of St. Nicholas Without: you thought fit, by concert with the archbishop, to hold it yourself, and apply the revenue to build another church. Upon the queen's death, when I had done for ever with courts, I returned to reside at my post, yet with some kind of hopes of getting some credit with you, very unwisely; because, upon the affair of St. Nicholas, I had told you frankly, 'That I would always respect you, but never hope for the least friendship from you." S.

† Though this be called a curacy, yet it is in reality a living of considerable value. S.

While the matter was in agitation, he thus writes to Stella, on the 7th of the March following: "I write by this post to the dean, but it is not above two lines; and one enclosed to you is not above three lines; and in that one enclosed to the dean, which he must not have, but on condition of burning it immediately after reading, and that before your eyes; for there are some things in it I would not have liable to accidents. You shall only know in general, that it is an account of what I have done to serve him, in his pretensions on these vacancies, &c. but he must not know that you know so much."

It is evident from some of the above quotations, that Swift was far from having any cordial regard for Sterne, and that he had thought himself, on some occasions, to have been ill treated by him. Nothing therefore can in my opinion account for his obstinate perseverance in making him a bishop, in spite of all the world, as he himself expresses it, but the sacredness of an engagement.

Whatever ill opinion Swift had formed of Sterne before, was thoroughly confirmed by his very ungrateful behaviour to him, immediately after he had made him a bishop. In his Journal of May 16, he writes thus: "Your new bishop acts very ungratefully. I cannot say so bad of him as he deserves. I begged, by the same post his warrant and mine went over, that he would leave those livings to my disposal. I shall write this post to him, to let him know how ill I take it."*

* Swift had afterward cause to complain farther of his ingratitude, where he says to him in a letter, dated 1753: "But trying to forget all former treatments, I came, like others, to your house, and since you were a bishop, have once or twice recommended persons to you, who were no relations or friends of mine, but merely for their general good character; which availed so little that those very persons had the greatest share of your neglect." S.

SECTION IV.

As the brightest and most important part of Swift's life passed during the four last years of Queen Anne, when his faculties were all in full vigour, and occasions for displaying them arose adequate to their greatness; I shall omit no circumstance, which may serve to delineate the features and limbs of his mind (if I may be allowed the expression) before disease and age had impaired the bloom of the one, and the strength and agility of the other. To have a perfect portrait and just likeness of a friend, had we our choice of time, we should certainly prefer that period of his life, when he was in his prime, to that of his decay. There have been already given many instances of such a nobleness of mind, such a disinterested spirit in Swift, as are rarely to be found in the annals of history. Yet the part which he acted by his friend Oxford, about the time of the queen's death, exhibits those qualities in a higher point of view, than ever they had appeared in before. It has been already mentioned, that finding all his endeavours to reconcile his great friends useless, he had retired to Letcombe, in order to make one effort more to compel them to unite for their common interest, by the publication of his "Free Thoughts," &c. Lord Bolingbroke, to whom this piece was shown by Barber,* contrived to have the printing of it deferred, as he was then just upon the point of accomplishing his long-concerted plan, of turning out Lord Oxford, and stepping into his place. This was effected just four days before the queen's death, on the 27th of July, 1714. One of Lord Bolingbroke's first objects, upon getting into power, was to secure Swift to his interest.

* From whom it came into the possession of Mr. Faulkner. N

He got Lady Masham to write to him, in the most pressing terms, on the 29th, to return immediately to town. And on the 30th he meant to despatch Barber to him, with letters from himself and Lady Masham for the same purpose. Which is thus related by Barber, in his letter of July 31, past six at night. "I am heartily sorry I should be the messenger of so ill news, as to tell you the queen is dead or dying: if alive, 'tis said she can't live till morning. You may easily imagine the confusion we are all in on this sad occasion. I had set out yesterday to wait on you, but for this sad accident; and should have brought letters to Lord Bolingbroke and Lady Masham, to have prevented your going. He said twenty things in your favour, and commanded me to bring you up, whatever was the consequence."

It was chiefly through the influence of Lady Masham, who was then at the height of favour with the queen, and had openly quarrelled with the treasurer, that he was turned out of his employment, and Bolingbroke appointed minister in his room. Nothing can show, in a stronger light, the great consequence of Swift in all state affairs at that time, than Lady Masham's letter to him on this occasion; which, on that account, I shall here present entire to the reader.

"My good friend, July 29, 1714.

"I own it looks unkind in me, not to thank you all this time, for your sincere kind letter; but I was resolved to stay till I could tell you, the queen had so far got the better of the Dragon,* as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most ungrateful man to her, and to all his best friends, that ever was born. I cannot have so much time now to write all my mind, because my dear mistress is not well; and I think I may lay her illness to

* A nickname for Lord Oxford. S.

the charge of the treasurer, who, for three weeks together, was teasing and vexing her without intermission, and she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last. I must put you in mind of one passage in your letter to me, which is, *I pray God to send you wise and faithful friends to advise you at this time, when there are so great difficulties to struggle with.* That is very plain and true; therefore will you, who have gone through so much, and taken more pains than any body, and given wise advice (if that wretched man had had sense enough, and honesty to have taken it) I say, will you leave us, and go into Ireland? No, it is impossible; your goodness is still the same, your charity and compassion for this poor lady,* who has been barbarously used, won't let you do it. I know you take delight to help the distressed; and there cannot be a greater object than this good lady, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here, and don't believe us all alike, to throw away good advice, and despise every body's understanding but their own. I could say a great deal upon the subject, but I must go to her, for she is not well. This comes to you by a safe hand, so that neither of us need be in any pain about it.

"My lord and brother are in the country. My sister and girls are your humble servants."

So warm and pressing a letter, from one who made, and unmade ministers (for it was to her Lord Oxford owed his advancement, as well as his disgrace) entreating, nay, in a manner imploring him to come and be their chief counsellor and director, in their new plan of administration; might have opened the most inviting prospects to Swift, of gratifying his utmost ambition with regard to his own interests; and at the same time, of accomplishing the plan which he invariably pursued, with respect

* The queen. S.

to those of the public. But to a man of his delicate sense of honour, there was an insuperable bar in the way to prevent his embracing so flattering an offer. He had two days before received the following letter from Lord Oxford, upon his losing the staff.

"If I tell my dear friend the value I put upon his undeserved friendship, it will look like suspecting you or myself. Though I have had no power since the twenty-fifth of July, 1713, I believe now, as a private man, I may prevail to renew your licence of absence, conditionally you will be present with me; for to-morrow morning I shall be a private person. When I have settled my domestic affairs here, I go to Wimple; thence, *alone*, to Herefordshire. If I have not tired you *tête à tête*, fling away so much time upon one, who loves you. And I believe, in the mass of souls, ours were placed near each other. I send you an imitation of Dryden, as I went to Kensington.

"To serve with love,
And shed your blood,
Approved is above:
But here below,
Th' examples show,
Tis fatal to be good."

In these two letters, there were two roads opened to Swift. One, leading to preferment, power, and all that his most ambitious hopes could aspire after. The other to the melancholy cell of a disgraced minister, abandoned by an ungrateful world; where he might have the satisfaction of affording him in his distress, that sovereign balm of consolation, which can only be administered by a sincere friend. Swift hesitated not a moment in his choice of the alternative, as may be seen by his

letter to Miss Vanhomrigh, written soon after his receipt of the other two.

"Who told you I was going to Bath? No such thing. But poor Lord Oxford desires I will go with him to Herefordshire; and I only expect his answer, whether I shall go there before, or meet him hereabouts, or go to Wimple (his son's house) and so with him down; and I expect to leave this place in two or three days, one way or other. I will stay with him till the parliament meets again, if he desires it. I am written to earnestly by somebody, to come to town, and join with those people now in power; but I will not do it. Say nothing of this, but guess the person. I told Lord Oxford I would go with him when he was out; and now he begs it of me, I cannot refuse him. I meddle not with his faults, as he was minister of state; but you know his personal kindness to me was excessive. He distinguished and chose me above all other men, while he was great, and his letter to me, the other day, was the most moving imaginable," &c.*

There is one expression in Lord Oxford's letter which is indeed very affecting, where he says, "I go to Wimple, thence, *alone*, to Herefordshire." What! this great minister, who had conferred so many obligations, and made the fortunes of such numbers, not to find one companion to attend him in his reverse of fortune! Methinks I see Swift reading this passage and exclaiming,

* This resolution of Swift's is fully confirmed in a letter to Archdeacon Wall, dated August 8, 1714. "Upon the Earl of Oxford's removal, he desired I would go with him into Herefordshire, which I consented to, *and wrote you word of it*, desiring you would renew my licence of absence at the end of this month, for I think it then expires. I had earnest invitations from those in power to go to town, and assist them in their new ministry, which I resolved to excuse; but before I could write, news came of the queen's death, and all our *schemes* broke to shatters." S.

"What, alone! No, while I exist, my friend shall not go *alone* into Hereforshire."

This conduct was the more noble in Swift, as during the whole course of their intimacy, he never received one personal favour from the *minister*, though treated with the most unreserved kindness by the *man*. Nay, whether it were owing to his procrastinating temper, or as Swift calls it in another place, his unmeasurable public thrift, he had neglected to procure for him an order for a thousand pound on the treasury, to pay the debt contracted by him upon his introduction to the deanery, which was all the reward Swift ever asked for his services.* And there is reason to believe, from a passage in a letter of Dr. Arbuthnot to him, dated July 14, that Swift was distressed for money at that time, on account of that neglect. The passage is this, "Do not think I make you a bare compliment in what I am going to say, for I can assure you I am in earnest. I am in hopes to have two hundred pounds before I go out of town, and you may command all, or any part of it you please, as long as you have occasion for it." And in the same letter it appears that the doctor had been desired by Swift to apply to Lord Bolingbroke for fifty pounds due to him from that lord, where he says, "As to the fifty pounds, he (Lord Bolingbroke) was ready to pay it, and if he had had it about him, would have given it to me." But it

* Nothing can show more the strong desire which Lord Bolingbroke had to attach Swift to his interest upon his getting into power, than his taking care, during his short ministry of three days only, to have an order signed by the queen on the treasury, to pay that sum to Swift, though by her sudden death he reaped no advantage from it. It appears, that Swift had this order in his possession when he visited London in the year 1726; for he says, in a letter to Dr. Sheridan, "Tell the archdeacon that I never asked for my thousand pounds, which he hears I have got, though I mentioned it to the princess the last time I saw her; but I bid her tell Walpole, I scorned to ask him for it." S.

is highly probable from the great delicacy of Swift's sentiments, that this very circumstance of his lying under no obligation to Lord Oxford, was what rendered his attachment to him the stronger, as it must proceed wholly from pure disinterested friendship. That this was his way of thinking, may be seen from several of his letters. In that of July 1, 1714, on his retiring to Letcombe, he thus expresses himself to the lord treasurer:

"My Lord,

"When I was with you, I have said more than once, that I would never allow quality or station made any real difference between men. Being now absent and forgotten, I have changed my mind: you have a thousand people who can pretend they love you, with as much appearance of sincerity as I; so that, according to common justice, I can have but a thousandth part in return of what I give. And this difference is wholly owing to your station. And the misfortune is still the greater, because I loved you so much the less for your station: for, in your public capacity; you have often angered me to the heart; but as a private man, never once.* So that, if I only look toward myself, I could wish you a private man to-

* In the several accounts given of Lord Oxford by Swift in different parts of his writings, there seems to be something contradictory: as in some places he extols him to the skies, and in others, imputes great weakness and faults to him. But this arises from the view he gives of him in two different characters. As a public minister, he represents him to have been one of the wisest, the ablest, and the most disinterested that ever lived; and he confirms this character by enumerating the many great services he had done to the state, without reaping the least advantage to himself, but rather injuring his private fortune. At the same time he shows that he was utterly unqualified to be the leader of a party, or to manage the private intrigues of a court; in which respects, partly from his natural disposition, and partly through want of true policy, he committed numberless errors; to which Swift alludes here, where he says, "In your public capacity you have often angered me to the heart; but as a private man, never once." S.

morrow: for I have nothing to ask; at least nothing that you will give, which is the same thing; and then you would see, *whether I should not with much more willingness attend you in a retirement*, whenever you please to give me leave, than ever I did at London or Windsor.* From these sentiments I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private man, or allow myself to have been obliged by you in any other capacity," &c.

And in one many years after, dated Oct. 11, 1722, expostulating with him in a friendly manner on his long silence, he says, "I never courted your acquaintance when you governed Europe, but you courted mine; and now you neglect me, when I use all my insinuations to keep myself in your memory. I am very sensible, that next to your receiving thanks and compliments, there is nothing you more hate than writing letters; but since I never gave you thanks, nor made you compliments, I have so much more merit than any of those thousands whom you have less obliged, by only making their fortunes, without taking them into your friendship, as you did me; whom you always countenanced in too public and particular a manner, to be forgotten either by the world or myself." The merit of Swift, in thus adhering to his friend at this juncture, was the more extraordinary, because he not only sacrificed to it all regard to his own interest, but that of the public also. It appears, that the queen in the last six months of her life, had changed her whole system with regard to parties, and came entirely round to that which had been the great object of all Swift's politics, by making a general sweep of the whigs from all their employments, both civil and military: and

* Lord Oxford had too soon reason to put this declaration of Swift's to the test, and found it nobly answered. S.

the only obstacles thrown in the way were by Lord Oxford; who from private motives of his own, set forth by Swift at large in his "Inquiry," &c.* refused to fall into the measure; and notwithstanding every effort used by Swift, continued inflexible in his resolution. He might therefore have had the strongest plea, from motives of a superior nature, his duty to the public, for deserting him on this occasion, and joining all his other friends in promoting his favourite plan, so essentially necessary to the support of the common cause. Nor could he have been liable to the least censure or reproach for such conduct. But his high notions of friendship, and delicate sense of honour, outweighed all other considerations, and would not let him hesitate a moment what part he should take.

It appears, in the course of the Journal, that there grew up between the lord treasurer and Swift, a mutual friendship of the most cordial and purest kind. He mentions dining with him sometimes four, sometimes five and six days together; and if he chanced to absent himself two successive days, he was sure of a friendly chiding for it. He seems to have been adopted into the Harley family, and considered on the footing of a near relation. As an instance of this, he says, in his journal of March 1713, "I have now dined six days successively with lord treasurer. He had invited a good many of his relations; and, of a dozen at table, they were all of the Harley family but myself." He was of all his private parties, and constantly accompanied him in his visits to Windsor. In short, Lord Oxford never seemed to have any enjoyment in which he was not a partaker, When we consider, that he had found in one and the same man, the clearest and ablest head to give advice; and most open and candid heart in communicating his sentiments upon

* See "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry." S.

all occasions, without the smallest selfish view; joined to the most uncommon talents to support his interests, and the most ardent zeal to promote them; we need not wonder that the minister should use his best endeavours, to attach such a man closely to him. But when in the same person he found the most delightful companion, possessed of an inexhaustible fund of the most original vein of wit and humour, for which he had a perfect relish; and who could at times descend to the *bagatelle*, and all the sportive plays of fancy, in the unrestrained hour of social mirth and good humour, of which it appears Lord Oxford was equally fond; we need not wonder that an old courtier, hackneyed in the ways of men, who perhaps had never found any of these qualities, in an equal degree, in any other mortal, should take him to his bosom, and at once bestow his whole stock of friendship upon a subject so worthy of it. And indeed it does not appear, that out of his own family, there was any other person to whom he showed much attachment, or whose friendship he cultivated to any great degree. This circumstance Swift has touched upon in drawing his character, and considers it as a blameless part of it, where he says, "It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies."

On the other hand, Lord Oxford, in his private capacity, seems to have possessed a great number of qualities, which were the most likely to endear him to Swift, and secure him the first place in his friendship. By whom he is respresented as a person of great virtue, abounding in good nature and good humour; as a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he carressed, without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies.

He says farther of him, "He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. He was utterly a stranger to fear, and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions, which could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. Such a character, even in private life, could not fail of attracting Swift's regard; but when these qualities, so congenial with his own, were found united in a man of the highest station in this country, and one of the most considerable personages of his time in the eyes of all Europe; when such a man, contrary to the usual bent of his nature, eagerly embraced every opportunity of ingratiating himself with Swift, and soliciting his friendship upon his own terms, that of a perfect equality; it is no wonder if these rare qualities were much enhanced in their value by such circumstances; or that Swift, after repeated proofs of his sincerity, should make him a suitable return, and give him the first place in his friendship.* But though he justly stood the

* That this was the case, may be seen by a passage in a letter of Swift's to Lord Oxford, the son, many years after the treasurer's death, dated June, 1737, where he says, I loved my lord, your father, better than any other man in the world; although I had no obligation to him on the score of preferment, having been driven to this wretched kingdom, to which I was almost a stranger, by his want of power

foremost in this rank, yet were there many others who shared it with him in different proportions. The large heart of Swift had an inexhaustible fund of benevolence, to be apportioned out to the several claimants, according to their several degrees of merit. Among those who vied with Lord Oxford for the possession of his friendship, no one seems to have been more assiduous than the second man in the state, though perhaps, in point of abilities, the first in Europe, Lord Bolingbroke. But though Swift held his talents in the highest admiration, and made suitable returns for all his personal kindness and attention to him, yet he never seems to have had that cordial regard for him that he showed for Lord Oxford. The excellence of whose moral character, established that confidence in him, which is so necessary to a firm friendship; while a notorious deficiency in the other, with regard to some points, created a doubt of his principles with respect to all. And symptons of this doubt have broken out from Swift on more than one occasión, with regard to his sincerity, though there are good reasons to believe his suspicions were unjust, as his attachment to him continued equally strong to the very last, and his friendship for him glows with uncommon ardour throughout his whole epistolary correspondence, in the decline of life, when there could have been no use for dissimulation. The zeal which he showed for Swift's service, may be estimated by the following note which he sent him, at the time that the affair of his promotion was depending. "Though I have not seen, I did not fail to write to lord treasurer. *Non tua res agitur*, dear Jonathan; it is the treasurer's cause; it is my cause; 'tis every man's cause, who is embarked on our bottom. Depend upon

to keep me, in what I ought to call my own country, although I happened to be dropped here, and was a year old before I left it." S.

it, that I will never neglect any opportunity of showing that true esteem, that sincere affection, and honest friendship for you, which fills the breast of your faithful servant, BOLINGBROKE."

But the light in which he considered Lord Bolingbroke, will best appear from his own account of him, in a piece written in the year 1715, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry," &c. "It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person. But all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choisest gifts that God hath yet thought fit to bestow on the children of men: a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study; the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer. For, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for some time to such a degree, that he seemed rather abstemious: yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals, whereof I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both: upon which account he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially

the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble."*

But an Alcibiades, or a Petronius, was not likely to be the bosom friend of a Swift, however he might admire his talents, or delight in his society, as a companion. In his political character indeed Swift was very closely connected with him, as Lord Bolingbroke adopted all his ideas, and strenuously supported the measures he proposed: and that they were not pursued, Swift lays the whole blame, in many places, on his friend Oxford, entirely acquitting Lord Bolingbroke of being in the wrong, in any of the differences subsisting between them on that score. In his first letter to Lord Bolingbroke after the queen's death, dated August 7, 1714, he says, "I will swear for no man's sincerity, much less that of a minister of state; but thus much I have said, wherever it was proper, that your lordship's proposals were always the fairest in the world, and I faithfully delivered them as I was empowered; and although I am no very skilful man at intrigue, yet I durst forfeit my head, that if the case were mine, I could either have agreed with you, or put you *dans vôtre tort.*"

We have already seen in his pamphlet of "*Free Thoughts, &c.*" intended to be published before the death of the queen, that he throws the whole blame of the des-

* The same character is given of him, in a more compendious way, in his Journal, Nov. 3, 1711. "I think Mr. Secretary St. John the greatest young man I ever knew: wit, capacity, beauty, quickness of apprehension, good learning, and an excellent taste; the best orator in the house of commons, admirable conversation, good nature, and good manners; generous, and a despiser of money. His only fault is, talking to his friends in way of complaint of too great load of business, which looks a little like affectation; and he endeavours too much to mix the fine gentleman, and the man of pleasure, with the man of business. *What truth and sincerity he may have, I know not.*" S.

perate state to which affairs were brought at that time, on the lord treasurer.

After Lord Oxford, the persons among the great, who seemed to have had the principal share of his affection, were Lord Peterborow, and the Duke of Ormond, to which he had the amplest returns from both. Of the great degree of mutual friendship which subsisted between the former and him, among many other proofs, the following short abstract from his Journal affords a striking instance.

Jan. 10, 1712-13. "At seven this evening, as we sat after dinner at lord treasurer's, a servant said, Lord Peterborow was at the door. Lord treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke went out to meet him, and brought him in. He was just returned from abroad, where he had been above a year. As soon as he saw me, he left the Duke of Ormond, and other lords, and ran and kissed me before he spoke to them; but chid me terribly for not writing to him, which I never did this last time he was abroad, not knowing where he was; and he changed places so often, it was impossible a letter should overtake him. I do love the hangdog dearly."

The circumstance of Lord Peterborow's breaking from the Duke of Ormond, and the other lords, to embrace Swift first, shows the warmth of his affection, which could make him forget all rules of decorum on the occasion; and Swift's homely expression of "*loving the hangdog dearly*," shows more clearly, than the choicest phrases could, that fondness in friendship, which nothing but the most intimate familiarity can excite.*

As to the Duke of Ormond, he always speaks of him with that tenderness, which only the warmest affection

* Swift, in a former part of his Journal, Oct. 18, 1711, had said of Lord Peterborow, "He has abundance of excellent qualities; and we love one another mightily." S.

can inspire; and it appears, that he was equally beloved by the duke, and had more influence with him than any man living. Beside these, he lived in the greatest intimacy with almost all the distinguished men of rank at that time; among which number were, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Keeper Harcourt, Lord Pembroke, Lord Rivers, Lord Bathurst, Lord Carteret, Lord Lansdown, Sir Thomas Hanmer (speaker) Sir William Wyndham, and many others. Nor were his friendships confined only to the great: all men of genius he looked upon, and treated as his brethren. Of this number were Addison, Congreve, Arbuthnot, Prior, Pope, Gay, Parnell, Garth, Berkeley, and others of inferior note. To promote whose interests, he chiefly used the influence he had with the great, to the utter neglect of his own, and to raise whose character and reputation in the world, he used all the means which his own high credit gave him. And he had still a sufficient stock of amity for several in the more private walks of life, whom he selected as the companions of his disengaged hours, on account of their good sense, integrity, and complaisance of behaviour. Among the foremost of these, were, Lewis, Ford, Sir Andrew Fountaine, Dr. Freind, Colonel Disney, Captain Charlton, Domville, and many others: all men of excellent characters. Added to these, there was a considerable number in an humbler sphere, whose sole patron he was, and for whom he made ample provision, merely on account of their merit or distress, without being influenced by ties of consanguinity, or partial recommendations.

His behaviour to these different classes, showed an uncommon greatness of soul. He studiously cultivated the acquaintance of all men of genius, whom he treated with a brotherly affection; and never let them feel the

superiority which his right of eldership gave him over them, but, on the contrary, either endeavoured to raise them to his own height, or placed himself on a level with them.

With his friends in private life, he was easy, familiar, indulgent, and kind.

Such as were under his protection, never felt the weight of dependence. There was no occasion for dancing attendance, or frequent importunities, he always had them in mind, and served them the instant it was in his power: nor did he expect any returns for his favours, though he was pleased when he saw marks of a grateful mind.

But to all men of rank and station, he asserted that noble independence of spirit which becomes the free-born mind. He made no allowance for the casual superiority, which birth, or fortune, or human institutions had given them, but valued them in proportion only to that higher nobility of soul derived from God and nature. He had long beheld with indignation the mean condescensions and homage paid by men of genius, to scoundrels in power, and titled fools, and was determined to afford a striking example in himself of a contrary conduct, by reclaiming the rights due to superiority of talents over those of birth or fortune. In one of his Tattlers, he says, "If those who possess great endowments of the mind, would set a just value on themselves, they would think no man's acquaintance whatsoever a condescension, nor accept it from the greatest, upon unworthy or ignominious terms." But Swift was not content with this negative virtue, of not seeking their acquaintance upon improper terms, but resolved to dispute their right to that superiority over his brethren, which they had so long possessed, and put in his claim to receive that ho-

mage from them, which had always been paid them by others. Accordingly he laid it down as a rule, that he never would solicit the acquaintance of any man, let his quality or station be what it would; but that all who were desirous of the honour of being ranked among the number of his friends, should make the first advances to him. Of this we have a remarkable instance in his Journal, May 19, 1711. "Mr. Secretary told me, the Duke of Buckingham had been talking much to him about me, and desired my acquaintance. I answered it could not be, for he had not made sufficient advances. Then the Duke of Shrewsbury said he thought that duke was not used to make advances. I said I could not help that; for I always expected advances in proportion to men's quality, and more from a duke than any other man. The duke replied, that he did not mean any thing of his quality, which was handsomely said enough, for he meant his pride," In another place, July 29, 1711, he says, "I was at court and church to-day, as I was this day se'nnight; I generally am acquainted with about thirty in the drawing-room, and I am so proud I make all the lords come up to me."

Nor was this rule confined to the men only; he demanded and received the same homage from the vainer sex also, in order to render the empire of genius and talents universal. In his Journal, Oct. 7, 1711, he has this passage. "I saw Lord Halifax at court, and we joined and talked, and the Dutchess of Shrewsbury came up and reproached me for not dining with her: I said, that was not so soon done, for I expected more advances from ladies, especially dutchesses: she promised to comply with any demands I pleased; and I agreed to dine with her tomorrow, &c. Lady Oglethorp brought me and the Dutchess of Hamilton together to-day in the drawing-room, and I have given her some encouragement, but not much." In

a letter to the Dutchess of Queensberry, many years after, he says, "I am glad you know your duty; for it has been a known and established rule above twenty years in England, that the first advances have been constantly made me by all ladies, who aspired to my acquaintance, and the greater their quality, the greater were their advances." Nor was it for himself only that he demanded this privilege, but, as far as lay in his power, would have it extended to all his brethren. When Lord Oxford had desired Swift to introduce Dr. Parnell to him, he refused to do it, upon this principle, that a man of genius was a character superior to that of a lord in high station, and therefore obliged my lord to introduce himself: which he did in the most courteous manner. On which occasion Swift in his Journal boastingly says, "I value myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry." His contemporary authors all received the benefit of this, and by following his example, in placing a proper value on themselves, were treated with more respect than ever fell to the share of their predecessors, or those who have since succeeded them. Pope acknowledges his obligation to him on this score, where he says, "The top pleasure of my life is one I learned from you, both how to gain, and how to use the freedom of friendship with men much my superiors."

Nothing but the extraordinary talents of Swift, and uncommon degree of merit in a variety of ways, could possibly have made the great ones of the world descend so far from their pride, as to admit this new claim, and pay him that homage which they had always considered as due only to themselves. And indeed he seems to have been looked up to by all the world, as one of a superior race of beings, or, like the phenix, as one who formed a class in the individual, standing alone, without a rival or

competitor.* And though encompassed by a cluster of the brightest geniuses that this island ever produced at any given era, yet he stood distinguished in a circle, and as the acknowledged monarch of wit, received the voluntary homage of his peers. And indeed among all that class of eminent writers, generally not the most humble of the human race, there was not one found vain enough to dispute his title, and all on different occasions have borne testimony to the superiority of his genius. Of which many instances may be produced, both in their works, and in the course of letters which passed between them.

Having raised himself to this high rank among men, merely by his personal merit, he took care to guard it with the same jealous attention, that a monarch shows to the preservation of his prerogative. The least slight shown him, or any unbecoming treatment of him, was not to be pardoned without a due submission from the person so offending. We have already seen that he refused to be reconciled to his friend Lord Oxford, upon a quarrel of that nature, in which he considered as an insult, what was intended by the other as a favour, and threatened to cast him off, if he did not make a proper apology.

* A letter from Thomas Harley, Esq. to Swift, begins thus: "Your letter gave me a great deal of pleasure: I do not mean only the satisfaction one must always find in hearing from so good a friend, who has distinguished himself in the world, *and formed a new character, which nobody is vain enough to pretend to imitate; but, &c.*—"

And the Earl of Stafford, one of the proudest men of the age, addresses him in this manner:

"Sir—To honour, and esteem, and admire you, is general to all that know or have heard of you; but to be pleased with your commands, and glad and diligent to obey them, is peculiar to your true friends; of which number I am very desirous to be reckoned." S.

He broke off with Lady Giffard, one of his oldest acquaintances in life, on a similar account, and declared he would never see her again, unless she asked his pardon. In his Journal of March 27, 1711, he gives the following account of his resentment to Lord Lansdown: "Society day, you know. We were never merrier, nor better company, and did not part till after eleven. I did not summon Lord Lansdown: he and I are fallen out. There was something in an Examiner a fortnight ago, that he thought reflected on the abuses in his office; (he is secretary at war) and he writ to the secretary, that he heard I had inserted that paragraph. This I resented highly, that he should complain of me, before he spoke to me. I sent him a peppering letter, and would not summon him by a note, as I did the rest; *nor ever will have any thing to say to him, till he begs my pardon.*" Nay, even with regard to his dear friend Addison, merely on account of his showing some suspicion of him, in a conversation relative to Steele, his conduct was the same; as may be seen in the following passage of his Journal: "I went to the coffee-house, where I behaved myself coldly enough to Mr. Addison, and so came home to scribble. We dine together to-morrow and next day, by invitation; but I shall not alter my behaviour to him, *till he begs my pardon*, or else we shall grow bare acquaintance."

I find an unwillingness to part with Swift at this period of his life, without showing him in all the various lights in which he then appeared. It is from his meridian height, that we are to judge of the splendour and powerful influence of the sun; not from his feeble setting ray, obscured by mists, or intercepted by clouds. Yet it is in this last state only, he has hitherto been represented to the world, in the several memoirs published of him, by those who never saw him but in his decline, and therefore

have given a very unfair representation of the man. To judge of his real character, we must have recourse to the testimony of such of his contemporaries, as knew him in his most perfect state. From the accounts given by the former, the world in general have been taught to consider him in the light of a severe, morose, intractable man, abounding in spleen and ill nature. And in this opinion they were confirmed by the severity of his satire in many of his writings. But how will they be surprised to find, that by those who best knew him at the era I have been speaking of, he was as much celebrated for his good nature as his wit. Of which, among a number of others, I shall produce a few instances.

Mr. Addison, in one of his letters, has the following passage: "I know you have so much zeal and pleasure, in doing kind offices for those you wish well to, that I hope you represent the hardship of the case, in the strongest colours that it can possibly bear. However, *as I always honoured you for your good nature*, which is a very odd quality to celebrate in a man, who has talents so much more shining in the eyes of the world, I should be glad if I could any way concur with you in putting a stop to what you say is now in agitation." And in another place, "I am sure a zealous friendly behaviour distinguishes you as much, as your many more shining talents; and as I have received particular instances of it, you must have a very bad opinion of me, if you do not think I heartily love and respect you."

Lady Betty Germain, daughter of Lord Berkeley, who knew him thoroughly from her earliest days, says to him in a very frank letter, wherein she attacks him with a good deal of spirit on Lady Suffolk's account: "It is you ought to be angry, and never forgive her because you have been so much in the wrong, as to condemn her without show of justice; and I wish with all my heart, as

a judgment upon you, that you had seen her as I did, when the news of your friend's death* came; for though you are a proud person, yet give you devil your due, you are a sincere, *good natured* honest one." But this quality of his was discoverable only on a nearer acquaintance; for on this, as on all other occasions, he was at more pains to conceal his virtues, than others are to display them; and to effect this, often put on the appearance of qualities directly contrary to those he possessed.

One of his intimates† writes thus to him: "You have an unlucky quality, which exposes you to the forwardness of those that love you, *I mean good nature.* From which, *though I did not always suspect you guilty of it, I now promise myself an easy pardon.*"

Nor was his good nature merely of the common kind; he had a tenderness of heart which made him feel with unusual sensibility the sufferings, misfortunes, or loss of friends, and sympathize with them in their afflictions. Nor were these feelings afterward diminished or blunted by years, till the faculties of his mind were impaired, and in a great degree they outlived even those; as may be seen in many instances during his latter correspondence, upon the death of any of his old friends.

In what agonies of mind does he give to Stella a distracted account of the stabbing Mr. Harley by Guiscard! March 1, 1711. "O Dear MD. my heart is almost broken. You will hear the thing before this comes to you; I writ a full account of it this night to the archbishop of Dublin. I was in a sorry way to write, but thought it might be proper to send a true account of the fact, for you will hear a thousand lying circumstances. 'Tis of Mr. Harley's being stabbed this afternoon at three o'clock at a committee of the council. I am in

* Mr. Gay; on whose account Swift had accused Lady Suffolk. S.
† Chiverton Charlton, captain of the yeomen of the guards. S.

mortal pain for him. That desperate French villain, Marquis de Guiscard, stabbed Mr. Harley. Pray pardon my distraction, I now think of all his kindness to me. The poor creature now lies stabbed in his bed, by a desperate French popish villain. Good night, and God preserve you both, and pity me. I want it."

His behaviour to the Dutchess of Hamilton, on the unfortunate death of the duke, killed in a duel by Lord Mohun, affords a striking instance of a warm feeling heart. He flew to her the instant the news reached him, to administer every assistance and consolation in his power. Of which take the following account in his Journal, Nov. 15, 1712. "They have removed the poor dutchess to a lodging in the neighbourhood, where I have been with her two hours, and am just come away. I never saw so melancholy a scene. She has moved my very soul. 16th. I thought to have finished this yesterday, but was too much disturbed. I sent a letter early this morning to Lady Masham, to beg her to write some comforting words to the poor dutchess. She has promised me to get the queen to write to the dutchess kindly on this occasion; and to-morrow I will beg lord treasurer to visit and comfort her. I have been with her two hours again, and find her worse. Her violences not so frequent, but her melancholy more formal and settled. Lady Orkney, her sister-in-law, is come to town on the occasion, and has been to see her, and behaved herself with great humanity. They have been always very ill together, and the poor dutchess could not have patience when people told her I went often to Lady Orkney's. But I am resolved to make them friends; for the dutchess is now no more the object of envy, and must learn humility from the severest master, *affliction*." Here we see that not content with what friendly offices he could do in his own person, he immediately applies to higher powers, even to

royalty itself, to administer richer cordials to raise her sinking soul, and pour a more sovereign balm on her afflicted spirit. And at the same time forms a plan for her future ease and comfort, by endeavouring to make up a family breach.

The accounts he gives of the illness and death of poor Harrison, for whom he had made so noble a provision,* are manifestly the effusions of a tender heart. Feb. 12, 1712. "I found a letter on my table last night, to tell me that poor little Harrison, the queen's secretary that came lately from Utrecht with the Barrier treaty, was ill, and desired to see me at night; but it was late, and I could not go till to day. I went in the morning, and found him mighty ill, and got thirty guineas for him from Lord Bolingbroke, and an order for one hundred pounds from the treasury to be paid him to-morrow; and I have got him removed to Knightsbridge for air.

"13th. I sent to see how he did, and he is extremely ill; and I am very much afflicted for him, as he is my own creature in a very honourable post, and very worthy of it. His mother and sister attend him, and he wants nothing.

"14th. I took Parnell this morning, and we walked to see poor Harrison. I had the hundred pounds in my pocket. *I told Parnell I was afraid to knock at the door; my mind misgave me.* I did knock, and his man in tears told me his master was dead an hour before. Think what grief this is to me! I could not dine with lord treasurer, nor any where else, but got a bit of meat toward the evening. No loss ever grieved me so much; poor creature! Pray God Almighty bless you. Adieu. I send

* That of queen's secretary at the Hague, a post which Lord Bolingbroke afterward bestowed on his own brother. S.

this away to night, and I am sorry it must go while I am in so much grief."*

Indeed, during that whole period, his breast seems to have contained a perpetual spring of the purest benevolence, always flowing and always full: and the chief delight of his life arose from doing acts of humanity, charity, generosity, and friendship. Not content with what he could perform in that way himself, his utmost endeavours were used to diffuse the same spirit of benevolence into all with whom he was connected. He was the life and soul of that famous society of sixteen, consisting of some of the first men of the age, in point of talents, rank, and virtue. To tie them closer to each other, he made them adopt the endearing name of *brothers;* and to spread the circle still wider, the ladies of the several members, called *sisters*, and even their children were *nephews* and *nieces*. Happy were the envied few who stood in this adopted relationship to Swift, and they never failed afterward boastingly to use that title; as may be seen in several of their letters. Great was the canvassing to be admitted into that number; and the Duke of Ormond looked upon it as a high honour that he was elected a member without any application on his part. "The end of our club," says Swift, "is to advance conversation and friendship, and to reward deserving persons with our interest and recommendation. We take in none but men

* Lord Bolingbroke bears strong testimony to this quality in Swift, in his letter of March 17, 1719: "I have not these several years tasted so sensible a pleasure, as your letters of the 16th of January and 16th of February gave me; and I know enough of the *tenderness of your heart*, to be assured, that the letter I am writing will produce much the same effect on you. I feel my own pleasure, and I feel yours. The truest reflection, and at the same time the bitterest satire, which can be made on the present age, is this, that to think as you think, will make a man pass for romantic. Sincerity, constancy, *tenderness*, are rarely to be found." S.

of wit, or men of interest; and if we go on as we begin, no other club of the town will be worth talking of." To keep them steady to these points, and to prevent their degenerating into political meetings, Swift early opposed the admission of lord treasurer and lord keeper, who had been proposed, and they were accordingly excluded; but their sons were received in their room. There are several instances mentioned of contributions raised by them to relieve indigent merit, which were distributed by Swift."*

He had so far endeavoured to diffuse this spirit of benevolence among all his connexions, that Lord Peterborow rallies him upon it thus in one of his letters. "You were returning me to ages past for some expressions in my letter. I find matter in yours to send you as far back as the golden age. How came you to frame a system, in the times we live in, to govern the world by love?"

He did not show at that time any of that acrimony, which he contracted afterward from disappointment, illness, and a thousand vexations multiplying on him, and increasing with his years. On the contary, he seems by

* Of this, among many others, take the following instances, Journal, Feb. 12, 1712. "I dined to day with our society, the greatest dinner I have ever seen. It was at Jack Hill's, the governor of Dunkirk. I gave an account of sixty guineas I had collected, and am to give them away to two authors to-morrow. And lord treasurer has promised me one hundred pounds to reward some others." 13th. "I was to see a poor poet, one Mr. Diaper, in a nasty garret, very sick. I gave him twenty guineas from Lord Bolingbroke, and disposed the other sixty to two other authors."—In that of March 30, "I was naming some time ago, to a certain person, another certain person, that was very deserving, and poor, and sickly; and the other, that first certain person, gave me one hundred pounds to give the other. The person who is to have it, never saw the giver, nor expects one farthing, nor has the least knowledge or imagination of it; so I believe it will be a very agreeable surprise; for I think it a handsome present enough. I paid the 100*l.* this evening, and it was a great surprise to the receiver." S.

his Journal and letters to have had an uncommon flow of spirits, and a cheerfulness of temper not easily affected. Accordingly his company was eagerly sought after by all who could get access to him; and his conversation was the delight not only of those who had a relish for wit and humour, but of those who took pleasure in the unrestrained social hour of good humour and mirth. So that he seems to have had every requisite that could excite at once the admiration and love of his friends. And indeed no man ever possessed both in a more eminent degree, and that from a large group of characters, distinguished for their rank, talents, and worth; such as are hardly to be paralleled, as co-existent at the same period, either in the history of our own country, or perhaps in that of any other. It must be allowed that Swift was very fortunate to have lived at such a juncture, and that he was judicious in his choice; but surely it is a proof of his extraordinary merit, that they were all united in the same sentiments toward him, however they differed among each other; and that their attachment to him continued invariably the same ever after, not seeming to have suffered any diminution either from absence, length of time, or loss of power. It is from the accounts of those who knew him intimately at that period, that we are to form an idea of his real character, not from the reports or surmises of others, or such as only saw him in his decline, when little of his former self remained; there have already been many quotations given for that purpose. To close his character, I shall only add two more, from two of his most intimate friends; one from Dr. Arbuthnot, a man as remarkable for the goodness of his heart, as his fine talents; the other from Pope. The first is part of a letter written soon after the queen's death. "Dear friend, the last sentence of your letter quite kills me. Never repeat that melancholy tender word, that you will endeavour to for-

get me. I am sure I never can forget you till I meet with (what is impossible) another, whose conversation I can delight so much in, as Dr. Swift's, and yet that is the smallest thing I ought to value you for. That hearty sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what I am sure I can never find in another man. I shall want often a faithful monitor, one that would vindicate me behind my back, and tell me my faults to my face. God knows I write this with tears in my eyes."

The other is in a letter from Pope to Lord Orrery, where, speaking of Swift, he says, "My sincere love for this valuable, indeed incomparable man, will accompany him through life, and pursue his memory, were I to live a hundred lives, as many as his works will live; which are absolutely original, unequalled, unexampled. His humanity, his charity, his condescension, his candour, are equal to his wit, and require as good and true a taste to be equally valued."

But Pope wrote this to a man who had no such true taste. To one, who in all his remarks on Swift's life, has endeavoured to depreciate the memory of that great man, and place his actions in the worst light. Not content with attacking his private character, and often with the malice of an Iago (so much worse indeed as being utterly unprovoked) *turning his very virtue into pitch*, he has endeavoured to reduce his political one to the lowest line; as may be seen in the following passage. "He was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow, the substance was kept from him. He was employed, not trusted; and at the same time that he imagined himself a subtle diver, who dexterously shot down into the profoundest regions of politics, he was suffered only to sound the shallows nearest the shore, and was scarce admitted to descend be-

low the froth at the top. Perhaps the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inspection."* I dare say his lordship, when he had finished this paragraph, looked it over with great self-complacency, and admired it as a beautiful and well turned period. But unfortunately there was not one syllable of truth in it, of which there have been already sufficient proofs given. Yet as this opinion, even upon so weak an authority, has, from the general spirit of envy, been adopted by numbers; and as some of the noblest points of Swift's character, depend upon the consideration of the high rank which he then held in the political state, I shall here adduce farther proofs of his great importance, and show, that though he was without office or rank, he was the man the most trusted, and the most employed in all political and state affairs, of any of that time.

We have already seen with what rapidity and eagerness, contrary to his usual procrastinating and reserved disposition, Harley rushed into his acquaintance, and besought his friendship. That soon after their first conversing together, he told St. John he could keep nothing from him, Swift had so much the way of getting into him.† That after a closer intimacy, though the most reserved man alive, and the least apt to despond, he confessed, that uttering his mind to Swift, gave him ease.‡ And that he continued ever after to repose this trust in him, may be seen in a letter from Lewis in the year 1713, supposed by the world to be the most confidential man with Lord Oxford, where he says, "His mind has been communicated more freely to you than to any other." In two months after their first acquaintance, he was admitted of the Saturday's private party,

* Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift. S.
† See Journal, Nov. 11, 1710. S.
‡ Journal, March 4, 1710-11. S.

or minister's cabinet council, consisting of the Lord Keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborow, and Mr. Secretary St. John; where, after dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance, and Swift was always one of the number.* It has been shown that he stood in an equal degree of confidence with Lord Bolingbroke: and no man living, no not of the ministry, stood so high in the opinion of Lady Masham, the second greatest favourite of the queen, and latterly the first; of which the most unequivocal proofs have been produced, in her shedding tears openly, upon the talk of sending him to Ireland, and her last earnest letter to him before the queen's death. All the great officers of state, connected with the ministry, followed their example in paying him homage. Lord Keeper Harcourt told a placeman of inferior rank, who had treated Swift with some incivility, "to take care of what he did, for the doctor was not only the favourite of all the ministry, but their governor also." We have seen that Lord Rivers told the printers, for whom Swift had demanded several places in his department, of considerable value, "that the doctor commanded, and he must obey." We find too, that when any of the ministry themselves had a favour to ask of Lord Oxford, it was through him they made their application.† It was the same too with regard to the foreign ministers.‡ In what

* Memoirs relating to the Change, &c. and Journal *passim*. S.

† Journal, Jan. 8, 1712-13. "I tell you a good thing; there is not one of the ministry, but what will employ me as gravely to speak for them to lord treasurer, as if I were their brother, or his, and I do it as gravely, though I know they do it only because they will not make themselves uneasy, or had rather I should be denied than they." S.

‡ March 5, 1712-13. "I was at court to day, and the foreign ministers have got a trick of employing me to speak for them to lord treasurer, and Lord Bolingbroke, which I do when the case is reasonable." S.

light he stood with the Spanish ambassador, may be seen from the following extract from his Journal, Dec. 21, 1712: "This day se'nnight, after I had been talking at court with Sir William Wyndham, the Spanish ambassador came to him, and said he heard that was Doctor Swift, and desired him to tell me, that his master, and the king of France, and the queen, were obliged to me more than to any man in Europe. So we bowed, and shook hands, &c. I took it very well of him."

All state writings, the queen's speeches, addresses upon them, &c. were either entirely drawn up by him, or submitted to his correction. He had a considerable share in the famous representation of the speaker's, Sir Thomas Hanmer, which made such a noise at that time, and was considered as the finest that ever was penned. In short, there was not a move made of any kind with relation either to public affairs, or party matters, in which he was not consulted, and the greatest share of labour in the executive part was thrown upon his shoulders. In all this plenitude of power, he was so far from *being elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence*, that he used his best endeavours to conceal it from the world in general, though it could not be a secret to those of his own party. With this view he absented himself from lord treasurer's levees, having never appeared there but twice during their whole acquaintance. And at court he always avoided him whenever he made toward him, nor would ever be seen speaking to him there.* But it was impossible long to conceal that superior degree of

* Jan. 15, 1712-13. "I was at court to day, and as lord treasurer came toward me I avoided him, and he hunted me thrice about the room. I affect never to take notice of him at church or court. He knows it, for I have told him so, and to night at Lord Masham's he gave an account of it to the company; but my reasons are, that people seeing me speak to him, causes a great deal of teasing." S.

favour in which he stood with the minister. His writings, in the cause he espoused, had rendered him too conspicuous, and the adverse party were too much galled by them not to make them watchful of all his motions. He was accordingly considered by the leaders of the opposite party, as the first mover in all the ministerial measures; and many virulent speeches were made against him by name, both in the house of lords and commons, *as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of.** O Lord Orrery! how little did you know of the true state of affairs at that time, when you wrote that false envious paragraph! and how utterly unacquainted must you have been with the real character of the man, whose memoirs you undertook to write, when you could suppose him so mean spirited as to be the mere tool of a ministry; and so blinded by vanity (a fault of which he had not one particle in his composition, for, as he himself has often observed, he was too *proud* to be *vain*) as not to discover whether he was *only employed, not trusted!*

Nor was his influence confined to England only; he was the chief person consulted in the affairs of Ireland, particularly during the Duke of Ormond's administration, and few preferments passed, especially in the church, without his approbation. Of this there are many proofs to be found in his correspondence with the Archbishop of Dublin, Primate Lindsay, Lord Chancellor Phipps, and his own Journal.†

* See Swift's Memoirs relating to the Change, &c. S.

† See his letter to the archbishop, September 31, 1713. His journal, Feb. 1, 1712-13.

Lord Primate Lindsay writes thus to him, in his letter of Jan. 5, 1713-14. "There is a gentleman, whom I believe you must have heard of, Dr. Andrew Hamilton, archdeacon of Raphoe, a man of good learning and abilities, and one of great interest in that country, whom I could wish you would move for to succeed me in Raphoe, as

Having now, past all controversy, established the high degree of power and influence which he then enjoyed, beyond any that perhaps ever fell to the lot of a private person, must not the disinterested spirit of Swift strike us with astonishment, when we reflect that he made no other use of these great advantages, but to promote the public cause in which he was engaged, or to make ample provision for persons of merit, while he was utterly negligent with regard to his own fortune? It must be obvious to every one, who considers the light in which he stood, that had he been a man of intrigue, or could he have made his principles bend to the reigning policy of the court; had he not incurred the queen's displeasure, by endeavouring to counteract her adopted system of government, and treating her bosom favourite with a severity never to be forgiven; nay, had he only followed the lead of the minister, by acquiescing in measures which he found it vain to oppose; it must be allowed, I say, considering the immensity of his talents, the close connexion he stood in with all the leading men, the great importance he was of to their cause, and the almost sisterly affection shown him by Lady Masham, that he might have aspired to the highest dignities in the church, or even, if his bent lay that way, in the state. For in those days the gown was not considered as a disqualification to ministerial offices, as we find the bishop of Bristol was made lord privy seal, and ambassador plenipotentiary. But as it was a maxim with Swift, that while the queen pursued her trimming plan, the interests of the

one that is most likely to do good in that part of the country, of any man I know.

"And now be pleased to accept my thanks for the great services you have done me, *and as you have contributed much to my advancement*, so I must desire you, upon occasion, to give me your farther assistance for the service of the church." S.

church and state were on a sandy foundation, and that there could be no solid establishment for them, till the whigs were all turned out of their employments, and a total end put to their power; he determined not only never to fall in with the queen's measures, but on the contrary openly to oppose them. Though at the same time he must have been conscious that this was the most certain way to bar his own preferment.

The only employment that Swift ever asked for during all that time, was that of historiographer; and his reasons for desiring it are thus set forth, in his memorial to the queen, April 1, 1714.

"The change of ministry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, and the proceedings since, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity, if they should fall under the pen of some writer of the opposite party, as they probably may.

"Upon these reasons it is necessary, for the honour of the queen, and in justice to her servants, that some able hand should be immediately employed, to write the history of her majesty's reign, that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.

"The Dean of St. Patrick's is ready to undertake this work, humbly desiring her majesty will please to appoint him her historiographer; not from any view of the profit (which is so inconsiderable, that it will hardly serve to pay the expense of searching offices) but from an earnest desire to serve his queen and country: for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of access to those places, where papers and records are kept, which will be necessary to any who undertake such a history."

We see upon what disinterested principles Swift desired this office; and he seems to have been highly provoked at his not obtaining it, laying the blame very unjustly on Lord Bolingbroke, as may be seen in his letter to Miss Vanhomrigh, August 1, 1714. "I am not of your opinion about Lord Bolingbroke, perhaps he may get the staff, but I cannot rely on his love to me. He knew I had a mind to be historiographer, though I valued it not but for the public service; yet it is gone to a worthless rogue, that nobody knows." But it appears from a letter of Dr. Arbuthnot's, July 17, 1714, that Lord Bolingbroke was most hearty in his cause; where he says, "I gave your letter, with the inclosed memorial, *cavalièrement* to Lord Bolingbroke. He read it, and seemed concerned at some part of it, expressing himself thus: "That it would be among the eternal scandals of the government, to suffer a man of your character, that had so well deserved of them, to have the least uneasy thoughts about those matters." But the truth is, that it was out of my lord's power to have served him in this point, as the memorial was not put into his hands till a fortnight after the place had been disposed of.* So that it is probable it never was presented to the queen. And his friend Ford, to whom he had also communicated his suspicions of Bolingbroke, vindicates him from the charge, in a letter written five days after the queen's death, where he says, "I really believe Lord Bolingbroke was very sincere in the professions he made of you, and he could have done any thing. No minister was ever in that height of favour, and Lady Masham

* In a letter from Charles Ford, Esq. to Dr. Swift, July 20, 1714, is the following passage: 'I thought you had heard the historiographer's place had been disposed of this fortnight. I know no more of him who has it, than that his name is Maddocks.' S.

was at least in as much credit, as she had been in any time of her life. But these are melancholy reflections."

There is a passage in a letter from Swift to Pope, Jan. 10, 1721, relative to this office, which at first view seems to contradict what he himself had said about it, as related above. "I had indeed written some memorials of the four last years of the queen's reign with some other informations, which I received, as necessary materials to qualify me for doing something in an employment then designed for me; but, as it was at the disposal of a person who had not the smallest share of steadiness or sincerity, *I disdained to accept it.*" But this apparent contradiction may easily be thus solved. Swift scorned to accept the employment as a favour, from the officer in whose department it was, for the reason he assigns, and would receive it only from her majesty's own appointment, to whom he therefore personally applied by memorial.*

I shall take leave of this period of Swift's life, by observing that he was thrown into the world at a most fortunate era to gratify the ruling passions of his heart. The chief pleasures of his life seem to have arisen from friendship contracted with men of worth and talents, and the society of persons of wit and genius; and never was there an era in which he could be so amply indulged with

* The circumstance of the disposal of this post from Swift, has afforded Lord Orrery an opportunity of exposing his ignorance, and invidious disposition to lower Swift's consequence to the utmost. He says, "He (Swift) knew how useful he was to administration in general; and in one of his letters he mentions, that the place of historiographer was intended for him, but I am apt to suspect that he flattered himself too highly." Surely his lordship must have been either so ill informed, as to suppose this post to be a very considerable one, or that Swift was without any degree of credit. *He flattered himself too highly.* Good Heaven! that such a man as Swift should be accused of flattering himself too highly, in expecting an employment, attended with much trouble, and without any degree either of honour or profit! S.

regard to both. I know there are numbers who laugh at those who speak with admiration of past times, and lament the degeneracy of the present, as idle declaimers, *laudatores temporis acti;* with which the world has constantly been furnished in all nations, from age to age; but that in reality all times have been much alike. In order that a fair comparison may be made between the period I have been speaking of, and that which followed, to the present time, I shall here set down a list of the extraordinary men who then flourished together.

LIST OF LITERARY CHARACTERS.

Temple,	Prior,	Wycherly,
Dryden,	Congreve,	Vanbrugh,
Swift,	Gay,	Southern,
Addison,	Garth,	Young,
Pope,	Steele,	Parnell
Arbuthnot,	Newton,	Berkeley,
Otway,	Locke,	Atterbury,
Rowe,	Boyle,	Tillotson, &c.

OF MEN IN HIGH RANK.

Duke of Marlborough,	Lord Anglesea,
Lord Peterborow,	Earl of Dorset,
Lord Oxford,	Lord Roscommon,
Lord Bolingbroke,	Lord Halifax,
Lord Bathurst,	Sir William Wyndham,
Lord Carteret,	Sir Thomas Hanmer.
Duke of Argyll,	

Beside many others that might be mentioned, of no small note. When they who are advocates for the above opinion, shall attempt to draw out a list of names in the present times, to be put in competition with these, they will soon be obliged to confess and retract their error.

SECTION V.

From his return to Ireland to his Death.

IMMEDIATELY after the decease of the queen, Swift returned to Ireland, where he found things in the highest ferment: the whigs all in triumph, threatening vengeance on the whole body of the desponding tories, as soon as power should come into their hands. However violent the proceedings of the whigs in England might afterward be, their animosity against the opposite party was moderate, in comparison with the hatred which their brethren of Ireland bore to the tories. All the stories fabricated in England by the whigs, of an intention to bring in the pretender by the late ministry, and which were only calculated for the more violent of their party, and the vulgar, were universally and implicitly believed in Ireland. The dreadful and detested days of James II. of which there were still so many living witnesses in that kingdom, and in which the whole body of Protestants suffered so much, came fresh into their minds, and raised the utmost abhorrence of all who were supposed to be abettors of such a measure. They were taught to consider the words Tory and Jacobite, as synonymous terms; and as Swift was known to have been highly in the confidence of the late ministry, he was of course supposed to have been deeply concerned with them in the plot of bringing in the pretender. Being the only one then in Ireland, against whom a charge could be made of having an immediate hand in such a design, he became the chief object upon which the madness of party vented its rage. He was constantly insulted with opprobrious language as he walked the streets, and some of the more violent, used to take up dirt from the

kennel to throw at him as he passed along; insomuch, that he was obliged never to go abroad without servants armed to protect his person. Nor was it from the lower class of people only, that he met with such insults; but those of a higher rank, in proportion as they were actuated by the virulence of party, or wished to make a merit to themselves with the governing powers, took all opportunities of treating him with the utmost indignity. Of this I have a strong instance now before me, in a paper drawn up by Swift himself.

The title of it is, "The Dean of St. Patrick's Petition to the House of Lords against Lord Blaney:" and on the inside: "To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled."

"The humble PETITION of JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D. and Dean of the Cathedral of St. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN,

"Most humbly showeth,

"THAT your petitioner is advised by his physicians, on account of his health, to go often on horseback; and there being no place, in winter, so convenient for riding, as the strand toward Howth, your petitioner takes all opportunities that his business or the weather will permit, to take that road. That in the last session of parliament, in the midst of winter, as your petitioner was returning from Howth with his two servants, one before, and the other behind him, he was pursued by two gentlemen in a chaise, drawn by two high-mettled horses, in so violent a manner, that his servant, who rode behind him, was forced to give way, with the utmost peril of his life: whereupon your petitioner made what speed he could, riding to the right and left above fifty yards to the full extent of the said road; but the two gentlemen driving a light chaise, drawn by fleet horses, and intent upon mischief, turned faster than your petitioner, endeavouring

to overthrow him. That by great accident your petitioner got safe to the side of a ditch, where the chaise could not safely pursue; and the two gentlemen stopping their career, your petitioner mildly expostulated with them; whereupon one of the gentlemen said, Damn you, is not the road as free for us as for you? and calling to his servant who rode behind him, said, Tom (or some such name) is the pistol loaden with ball? To which the servant answered, yes, my lord, and gave him the pistol. Your petitioner often said to the gentleman, pray, sir, do not shoot, for my horse is apt to start, by which my life may be endangered. The chaise went forward, and your petitioner took the opportunity to stay behind. Your petitioner is informed, that the person who spoke the words above mentioned, is of your lordships' house, under the style and title of Lord Blaney; whom your petitioner remembers to have introduced to Mr. Secretary Addison, in the Earl of Wharton's government, and to have done him other good offices at that time, because he was represented as a young man of some hopes, and a broken fortune. That the said Lord Blaney, as your petitioner is informed, is now in Dublin, and sometimes attends your lordship's house. And your petitioner's health still requiring that he should ride, and being confined in winter to go on the same strand, he is forced to inquire from every one he meets, whether the said lord be on the same strand: and to order his servants to carry arms to defend him against the like, or a worse insult, from the said lord, for the consequences of which your petitioner cannot answer.

"Your petitioner is informed by his learned counsel, that there is no law now in being, which can justify the said lord, under colour of his peerage, to assault any of his majesty's subjects on the king's highway, and put them in fear of their lives, without provocation, which

he humbly conceives, that by only happening to ride before the said lord, he could not possibly give.

"Your petitioner, therefore, doth humbly implore your lordships, in your great prudence and justice, to provide that he may be permitted to ride with safety on the said strand, or any other of the king's highways, for the recovery of his health, so long as he shall demean himself in a peaceable manner, without being put into continual fears of his life by the force and arms of the said Lord Blaney."

But nothing hurt Swift so much, as the many instances of ingratitude he experienced in those who were highly indebted to him, while he was in power. It has been already shown, that he made it a point with the ministry in England, that no man of genius or merit should be turned out of employment on account of party: the same maxim he extended to Ireland, where he preserved several in their places, who, but for his interposition, would infallibly have lost them. Of this many instances occur in the course of his letters. In one to the archbishop of Dublin, written in 1713, when his influence was at the highest, he says, "I have suffered very much for my tenderness to some persons of that party, which I still preserve; it would be endless to recount to your grace the reproaches that have been made me, on account of your neighbour." And in another, "Neither did I ever fail to interpose in any case of merit or compassion, by which means several persons in England, and some in this kingdom, kept their employments; for I cannot remember my Lord Oxford ever refused me a request of that kind." He therefore thought it extremely hard, that after such instances of favour shown to numbers of that party, he should be particularly marked out as the chief object of their resentment; or, as he

himself expresses it in the same letter, "If my friendship and conversation were equally shown among those who liked or disapproved the proceedings then at court, and that I was known to be a common friend of all deserving persons of the latter sort, when they were in distress; I cannot but think it hard, that I am not suffered to run quietly among the herd of people, whose opinions unfortunately differ from those which lead to favour and preferment." But Swift, by his great abilities exerted in the cause of the late ministry, had rendered himself so obnoxious to the new men in power, that even to be of his acquaintance, would, in those days, have been a sure bar to promotion. Of this, there is a singular instance communicated to me among other anecdotes taken down at that time by a friend of the dean's. Swift, in the height of party ferment, having some occasion to apply to Sir Thomas Southwell, who was one of the commissioners of the revenue, and with whom he had lived on the footing of the greatest intimacy, was much shocked by an answer he made him: "I'll lay you a groat" (a usual cant expression of Sir Thomas's) "Mr. Dean, I don't know you." Some years after, when the spirit of party was a good deal abated, Sir Thomas, who was then Lord Southwell, riding on the strand, and observing the dean on horseback a little before him, lamented to one of his company the ill effects of party; among which he reckoned the loss of that worthy man's acquaintance, meaning the dean: but I'll try, said he, to recover it. When he overtook the dean, he asked him how he did. "I'll lay you a groat, my lord," says Swift, "I don't know you."

In such a situation of affairs, Swift chose the most prudent part, that of retiring wholly from the world, and *employing* himself chiefly in the care of his deanery, in *the* discharge of his duty as a clergyman, and arranging

his domestic affairs, without once casting his eye toward the public. In a letter to Pope, dated Jan. 10, 1721, he gives this account of himself: "In a few weeks after the loss of that excellent princess, I came to my station here, where I have continued ever since in the greatest privacy, and utter ignorance of those events which are most commonly talked of in the world. I neither know the names nor number of the family which now reigneth, farther than the prayer book informeth me. I cannot tell who is chancellor, who are secretaries, nor with what nations we are in peace or war." And this manner of life was not taken up out of any sort of affectation, but merely to avoid giving offence, and for fear of provoking party zeal.* But though in this Swift acted the

* The following anecdote, taken down at the time by the same gentleman who communicated the former to me, will show how cautious Swift was in his behaviour at that juncture, for fear of provoking party zeal, and at the same time afford an instance of his peculiar vein of humour. Among other tyrannical acts of the Whigs, in the first parliament of George I. such members of the house of commons as had voted for an address in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, were ordered to beg pardon of the House. This order was generally complied with. Three who refused were taken into custody of the serjeant at arms: Sir Pierce Butler, Mr. Matthew Ford, and Mr. Robert Cope. Swift, visiting Cope one day, found Povey, the serjeant at arms, who was a perfect stranger to Swift's person, sitting with him. After some conversation, Swift asked Cope, "whether he did not intend to go out that morning, as it was a fine day?" Cope said, "he could not stir out; he was confined." Swift asked, "had he taken physic?" Cope said, "No, but that he was confined by the Parliament, and was then in custody of the serjeant at arms." Swift, with an air of perfect ignorance and simplicity, inquired the meaning of that, as if he had never heard of a serjeant at arms, or of any such power in the Parliament; and soon after took his leave. When he was gone, Povey said, "it would be well for the church and the kingdom, if the clergy minded state affairs as little as that honest gentleman, who, he durst say, was a good parish minister, residing at his living, and minding his own affairs, without troubling his head about those of the public. Pray what is his name?" "Swift." "Is he any relation of the Dean of St. Pat-

part of a philosopher, yet no one could feel more for the distresses of his former friends, and the uncomfortableness of his own situation. In a letter to Pope, June 28, 1715, he says, "You know how well I loved both Lord Oxford and Bolingbroke, and how dear the Duke of Ormond is to me: and do you imagine I can be easy while their enemies are endeavouring to take off their heads? *I nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros.* Do you imagine I can be easy, when I think on the probable consequences of these proceedings, perhaps upon the very peace of the nation, but certainly of the minds of so many hundred thousand good subjects?" And in one to Mr. Gay, he says, "I was three years reconciling myself to the scene, and the business, to which fortune hath condemned me, and stupidity was that I had recourse to." In another to the same, he gives this account of himself: "I would describe to you my way of living, if any method could be called so in this country. I choose my companions among those of least consequence, and most compliance: I read the most trifling books I can find, and when I write, it is upon the most trifling subjects: but riding, walking, and sleeping, take up eighteen of the twenty-four hours. I procrastinate more than I did twenty years ago, and have several things to finish, which I put off to twenty years hence." In this manner did he pass seven years of his life from his arrival in Ireland, little known there as an author, except on account of his political writings, which, in that change of times, rendered him an object of general detestation. There had been then no collection made of his works, and his detractors in England had robbed him of the merit of his principal work, "The Tale of a Tub," by

rick's?" "The very man," says Cope. "The very man!" replied Povey; "damn him, he has bit me!" and left the room in some confusion. S.

denying him to be the author. Many calumnies were industriously propagated against him, taken from the writings of the hirelings on the whig side, whereof the number was so great, that Swift in one place says, that there were upward of a thousand papers and pamphlets published against him in the space of a few years. But wrapped in the consciousness of his integrity, he had the fortitude to treat all this with silent contempt. To counterbalance the ill treatment he met with from the public, he, by degrees, contracted an intimacy with a select few, who had taste to relish the author, and virtue to admire the man.* He had also the supreme satisfaction of con-

* In a passage above quoted from his letter to Gay, where he says, "I choose my companions among those of least consequence, and most compliance," we are to understand only such humble friends as were always at his devotion, to be let in, or sent away, without ceremony, according as he was in the humour. It was probably this passage, which furnished Lord Orrery with an occasion of exercising his usual disposition to depreciate the dean as much as possible; in the following paragraphs: "After the great names, which I have just now mentioned, it is matter of astonishment to find the same person, who had enjoyed the highest and the best conversation, equally delighted with the lowest and the worst; and yet it is certain, from Swift's settlement in Dublin as dean of St. Patrick's, his choice of companions in general, showed him of a very depraved taste.

"From the year 1714, till he appeared in the year 1720, a champion for Ireland against Wood's halfpence, his spirit of politics and of patriotism was kept almost closely confined within his own breast. Idleness and trifles engrossed too many of his hours: fools and sycophants too much of his conversation."

His answerer, Dr. Delany, fired with indignation at this false charge, replies to him in the following manner: "My lord, you have been so grossly abused, in the accounts which dictated those two paragraphs to you, that I am almost ashamed to set you right. The meanest man I ever heard of his conversing with during that period, was Mr. Worrall, a clergyman, a master of arts, a reader and vicar of his cathedral, and a master of the song. He was nearly of his own standing in the college; a good walker, a man of sense, and a great deal of humour. Mr. Worrall's situation in the church, naturally engaged his attendance upon the dean, every time he went thither: and their walks naturally ended either in the dean's dining

stantly enjoying the society of the amiable and accomplished Stella, whose conversation, by his own account, was the most engaging of any he had ever met with,

with him, or he with the dean. But as the dean was a single man, the former happened more frequently: and this intercourse at last ended in the dean's dining with him, as often as he pleased, at a certain rate, and inviting as many friends as he pleased upon the same terms." The dean, when he first settled at Dublin, was in debt to his predecessor, Bp. Sterne, in the sum of 800*l.* being two-thirds of the sum expended in building the deanery-house. This determined him to a severe economy, which this agreement with Worrall well suited.

Dr. Delany then proceeds to relate his intimacy with the Grattans, a numerous race of brothers, all in affluent or easy circumstances, a set of men as generally acquainted, and as much beloved, as any one family in the nation. After a particular description of each of these, he proceeds thus: "These, my lord, were men of open hearts, and free spirits: who as little deserved, and as much disdained the character and office of sycophants, as any nobleman of your's, or any nation. And yet these, with their allies, the Jacksons, &c. genteel, agreeable, and well bred men and women, were the companions of many of Swift's easiest and happiest hours: such companions, as no wise man ever wanted, or at least would want, if he could help it; any more than he would his night gown, his couch, or his easy chair.

"Whether the Grattans led Swift, or he them, into the acquaintance of their friends, George Rochfort, and Peter Ludlow, I cannot say. But this I know, that he lived much with those gentlemen, and cultivated their friendship with a very distinguished affection and esteem; and it is certain, that they well deserved the highest regard and distinction he could pay them.

Quales animæ neque candidiores terra tulit,
Nec queis te magis optasses amicum.

Such souls! more candid never earth produced,
Nor whom you could more wisely wish your friends.

"They were men of fortune, scholars, men of parts, men of humour, men of wit, and men of virtue. Greater companions Swift might have conversed with, but better he neither did, nor could.—Let me add to these another gentleman, for whom the dean had a particular esteem, Matthew Ford, a man of family and fortune; a fine gentleman, and the best lay scholar of his time and nation. These, with the fellows of the college, Dr. Walmsley, Dr. Helsham, Dr. Delany, Mr. Stopford (now bishop of Cloyne) and Dr. Sheridan, among the men; and Lady Eustace, Mrs. Moore, Lady Betty

either in man or woman. And he found in Dr. Sheridan, that best cordial of life, a bosom friend, to whom he could open himself without restraint, in all humours, and who was peculiarly calculated for the *bagatelle*, of which Swift at that time professed himself so fond, as the only means of keeping up his spirits in the gloom that surrounded him. He had the pleasure of hearing often from his former friends, whose letters breathed the same cordial affection and high esteem which they always professed for him. Among this number were Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Harley, Mr. Addison, Dr. Arbuthnot, Prior, Pope, Lewis, &c. the Dutchess of Ormond, and Lady Bolingbroke.

In the year 1715, when Lord Oxford was committed to the tower, Swift wrote pressingly to him that he might be permitted to attend him there. His letter begins thus: "My lord, it may look like an idle or officious thing in me, to give your lordship any interruption under your present circumstances: yet I could never forgive myself, if, after having been treated for several years with the greatest kindness and distinction, by a person of your lordship's virtue, I should omit making you at this time the humblest offers of my poor service and attendance. It is the first time I ever solicited you in my own behalf; and if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me." But Lord Oxford, however desirous he might be of the presence of such a friend, whose conversation might contribute more than any

Rochfort, and Mrs. Ludlow, ladies sufficiently distinguished, of the other sex, were, with Stella and her friends, Swift's principal acquaintance and companions, during the period you mention, and treat as the era of his infamy.

"I might mention some others of very distinguished characters, who made up, I will not say, that admired, but I can say with truth, that envied society, in which Swift passed his life at that period. But I hope I have already said sufficient to set you right." S.

thing in the world to soften the rigour of confinement, was too generous to put him to such an inconvenience on that account. Yet immediately on his release from the Tower, he expressed his desire of seeing him in England, if it might be consistent with his affairs; in a letter full of the warmest expressions of friendship and affection.*

Lord Bolingbroke's letters during his exile, are not inferior to Lord Oxford's in expressions of the highest regard and friendship. In that of Oct. 23, 1716, are the following passages. "It is a very great truth, that among all the losses which I have sustained, none affected me more sensibly, than that of your company and correspondence; and yet, even now, I should not venture to write to you, did not you provoke me to it. Your letter breathes the same spirit, as your conversation at all times inspired, even when the occasion of practising the severest rules of virtuous fortitude seemed most remote. Adieu, dear friend; may the kindest influence of Heaven be shed upon you. Whether we may ever meet again, that heaven only knows: if we do, what millions of things shall we have to talk over! In the mean while, believe that nothing sits so near my heart, as my country, and my friends, and that among these you ever had, and ever shall have, a principal place."

In another letter he says, "I know not whether the love of fame increases as we advance in age; sure I am, that the force of friendship does. I loved you almost twenty years ago; I thought of you as well as I do now; better was beyond the power of conception; or, to avoid an equivoque, beyond the extent of my ideas."

In the year 1717, Swift received a letter from Lewis, giving him an account of the distressed situation of Prior's affairs, and of a design set on foot by his friends to pub-

* *See this* letter, under the date of Aug. 6, 1717. N.

lish his works by subscription, in order to his relief. This gave him an opportunity of exerting that zeal, for which he was so remarkable, whenever the cause of his friend, or distressed merit, called upon him. Upon this occasion he made use of all his influence to so good purpose, that in a few months he sent him such a large list of subscribers that Prior was astonished at it. His earnestness to serve him, and to give him accounts of his success in his solicitations, appears from the quick succession of letters sent by him on the occasion. Prior, in answer to these, begins his letter of July 30, 1717, thus: "I have the favour of four letters from you, of the 9th, 13th, 16th, and 20th, instant," and he concludes his letter thus: "Pray give my service to all friends in general. I think as you have ordered the matter, you have made the greater part of Ireland list themselves under that number. I do not know how you can recompense them, but by coming over to help me correct the book which I promised them."

What an instance is here of the vicissitudes in human affairs, when a man who had been ambassador plenipotentiary to the court of France, should, in the space of a few years, be reduced to such a sorry expedient (as Swift terms it) to keep him above want!

During this period, Swift's pen seems to have been thrown aside, or employed only in trifles, except two tracts drawn up by him soon after his settlement in Ireland: the one, entitled, "Memoirs relating to that Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry, in the year 1710." Written in October, 1714. The other, "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry, with relation to their Quarrels among themselves, and the Design charged upon them of altering the Succession of the Crown." His view in these was, to lay open all the springs which moved the political machine during that

period; and to exonerate the ministry, from that heavy charge, so loudly and generally made against them, of a design to bring in the pretender. As he was a man more in the confidence of that ministry, than any other in the world; of a sagacity not easily to be duped; a sincerity incapable of being biassed, and of most undoubted veracity; there was no one living so capable of executing such a task. And when we examine the strength of argument with which he has supported his positions; when we reflect that these tracts were drawn up without any view of their being published till after his death, and therefore could answer no private end, the impartial world will necessarily be of his side. Confident assertions, and loud clamours of a party, unsupported by any proofs, though sought for with all the diligence of persevering malice and revenge; however they may spread for a time through the spirit of faction, will never prevail with an unprejudiced posterity, against conclusive arguments, supported by established facts. To enlighten posterity with regard to those points, for he had no hopes of the present age, was Swift's motive for leaving those pieces behind him, and no doubt his end will be answered.

During almost six years after his return to Ireland, Swift kept his resolution of not meddling at all with public affairs. He saw with indignation the cruel oppression under which his country laboured, and with the deepest concern, the miserable state to which it was reduced. But as he knew that all efforts to stem the torrent, during the violence of party, would be fruitless, he prudently waited till it had spent its force. In the year 1720, when the ferment seemed to have subsided, he published his first political tract relative to Ireland, entitled, *A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures.* In which he cautiously avoids touching upon party mat-

ters, and points out to the people of Ireland, that a great part of their poverty and distress was owing to their own folly, and that the remedy was in their own hands. Of this pamphlet, and the consequences produced from it, he has given the following account in a letter to Pope. "I have written in this kingdom, a discourse to persuade the wretched people to wear their own manufactures, instead of those from England: this treatise soon spread very fast, being agreeable to the sentiments of the whole nation, except of those gentlemen who had employments, or were expectants. Upon which a person in great office here, immediately took the alarm; he sent in haste for the chief justice, and informed him of a seditious, factious and virulent pamphlet, lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance; directing at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law. The chief justice has so quick an understanding, that he resolved, if possible, to outdo his orders. The grand juries of the county and city were effectually practised with, to represent the said pamphlet with all aggravating epithets, for which they had thanks sent them from England, and their presentments published, for several weeks, in all the newspapers. The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail. After his trial, the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry; the chief justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours; until being perfectly tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the judge, by what they call a *special verdict*. During the trial, the chief justice, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly that the author's design was to bring in the pretender, although there was not a single syllable of party in the whole treatise; and although it was known that the most eminent of those who

professed his own principles, publicly disallowed his proceedings. But the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon the Duke of Grafton's, the lord lieutenant's arrival, his grace, after mature advice, and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *noli prosequi.*"

From this experiment Swift learned that the embers of party, however concealed under ashes, might be revived with the least breath, and blown into a blaze. He therefore withdrew into his former retirement, after having taken ample vengeance on the chief justice, by exposing him in the most odious colours, and rendering him an object of general detestation. But whatever efforts he used to subdue his indignation at the cruel acts of oppression and injustice under which his country laboured, by confining it within his own breast, yet his heart was constantly corroded with the scenes of misery which surrounded him; and his patriotic spirit, thus confined, proved only as an evil one to torment him. Of the effect which this had on his temper, we have many instances in his letters. Dr. Delany mentions a remarkable one, who calling on him one day, when upon some occasion he seemed in an uncommon state of irritation, being asked by Swift, "Whether the corruptions and villanies of men in power, did not eat his flesh, and exhaust his spirits?" answered, "that in truth they did not:" he then asked in a fury, "why—why—how can you help it? how can you avoid it?" Delany calmly replied, "Because I am commanded to the contrary.—"*Fret not thyself because of the ungodly.*"

As no work of his has appeared written during the space of near four years after his publishing the above-mentioned pamphlet, it is highly probable that his leisure hours were wholly employed in writing "Gulliver's

Travels;" in which general satire on the vices, follies, and absurdities of mankind, he gave vent to that spleen, which was in a continual state of irritation from the objects that surrounded him.

In the year 1724, an opportunity offered, which he eagerly embraced, of dispersing those clouds, behind which he had so long been concealed, and of blazing forth in higher lustre than ever.* At that time a project was set on foot by one William Wood, an obscure man, which, had it succeeded, would have ended in the total, and perhaps irretrievable ruin of Ireland. A patent was granted to this man, in a most extraordinary manner,† for coining halfpence for the use of Ireland, without consulting any mortal of that kingdom, or even giving any previous notice of it to the lord lieutenant. Justly alarmed at the consequences to be apprehended from this, and fired with resentment at the indignity with which they were treated, the parliament, privy council, grand juries, and numerous bodies of the inhabitants throughout the kingdom, sent over strong remonstrances against this proceeding, but all

* "The great acquisition of esteem and influence," says Dr. Johnson, "was made by the Drapier's Letters." N.

† "One Wood of Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, a man enterprising and rapacious, had, as is said, by a present to the Dutchess of Munster, obtained a patent, empowering him to coin one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of halfpence and farthings for the kingdom of Ireland, in which there was a very inconvenient and embarrassing scarcity of copper coin; so that it was possible to run in debt upon the credit of a piece of money; for the cook or keeper of an alehouse could not refuse to supply a man that had silver in his hand, and the buyer would not leave his money without change. The project was therefore plausible. The scarcity, which was already great, Wood took care to make greater, by agents who gathered up the old halfpence, and was about to turn his brass into gold, by pouring the treasures of his new mint upon Ireland; when Swift, finding that the metal was debased to an enormous degree, wrote Letters, under the name of M. B. Drapier, to shew the folly of receiving, and the mischief that must ensue by giving gold and silver for coin worth perhaps not a third part of its nominal value." Dr. Johnson.

to no purpose. The British minister, who had his own views in promoting this favourite project, determined to support the patent; and being then possessed of the same plenitude of power, with all the insolence of a Turkish vizier, was deaf to the remonstrances of the nation, and resolved to cram the halfpence down their throats. Though to be master of the subject, it will be necessary to read all that Swift has written upon it, yet it may not be amiss here to give a general idea of the case, in an extract from a most masterly address to both houses of parliament, drawn up by him on the occasion.

"There is one particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like, in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost astonishment.

"After the unanimous addresses to his sacred majesty against this patent of Wood from both houses of parliament; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is entrusted, the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one side, and a few volunteers, without any trust or direction from hence. The question, as I remember, chiefly turned upon the want of halfpence in Ireland; witnesses are called on behalf of Wood, of what credit I have formerly shown; upon the issue the patent is found good and legal; all his majesty's officers here, not excepting the *military*, commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual: the address of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever, and

the whole kingdom of Ireland nonsuited in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause between *John Doe*, plaintiff, and *Richard Roe*, defendant.

"With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not understood them to be our governors, counsellors, or judges. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, whether Ireland wanted halfpence: for there is no doubt but we do want both halfpence, gold, and silver; and we have numberless other wants, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation; to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with religion and laws, or any degree of soil and sunshine; but for what demerits on our side, I am altogether in the dark.

"But I do not remember that our want of halfpence, was either affirmed or denied, in any of our addresses, or declarations against those of Wood. We alleged the fraudulent obtaining and executing of his patent; the baseness of his metal; and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and discouraged trade. We urged that the patent was passed without the least reference hither; and without mention of any security given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand, both of which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases.

"But in the name of God, and of all justice and piety, when the king's majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood that he conceived, believed, and intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom; of the most loyal kingdom

those days, *flying in the king's face.* And if this coin was once received into the public offices, and issued out to pay the king's troops, the affair was over. To prevent this there was but one way, which was to raise such a spirit in the whole body of the people, as to determine them never to receive one piece of this coin in payment. This he so effectually performed in a series of letters, under the same signature of *M. B. Drapier*, which were universally read over the whole kingdom, that there was scarce an individual to be found, even down to the lowest peasant, except a few placemen, who did not form this resolution. And in order to bind them to it more effectually, in his second letter he drew up the following advertisement. "Whereas one William Wood, hardwareman, now or lately sojourning in the city of London, hath, by many misrepresentations, procured a patent for coining a hundred and eight thousand pounds, in copper halfpence, for this kingdom, which is a sum five times greater than our occasions require: and whereas it is notorious that the said Wood hath coined his halfpence of such base metal, and false weight, that they are at best six parts in seven below the real value: and whereas we have reason to apprehend, that the said Wood may at any time hereafter clandestinely coin as many more halfpence as he pleases: and whereas the said patent neither doth, nor can oblige his majesty's subjects to receive the said halfpence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice, because by law the subject cannot be obliged to take any money, except gold or silver: and whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the said patent, the said Wood hath declared, that every person shall be obliged to take five pence halfpenny of his coin in every payment: and whereas the house of commons and privy council have severally addressed his most sacred majesty, representing the ill consequences which

the said coinage may have upon this kingdom: and lastly, whereas it is universally agreed that the whole nation to a man, except Mr. Wood and his confederates, are in the utmost apprehensions of the ruinous consequences that must follow from the said coinage; therefore we, whose names are underwritten, being persons of considerable estates in this kingdom, and residers therein, do unanimously resolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or halfpenny of the said Wood's coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuse the said coin from any person whatsoever, of which, that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a copy of this advertisement, to be read to them by our stewards, receivers," &c.

Numbers of these advertisements, signed by a multitude of names, together with the "Drapier's Letters," were soon dispersed over the kingdom, and produced such a universal outcry in all ranks of people against this odious project, that the poor tools of power did not dare to attempt any thing in support of it. But the English minister, not at all intimidated by this violent opposition, seemed resolutely bent on carrying the point. With this view he sent over the Lord Carteret, lately appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, long before the usual time of the chief governor's going to that kingdom, with directions to assemble the parliament, which had been prorogued to a distant day, soon after the arrival, revoking that prorogation, a thing very unusual. Here he was to try the common methods of securing a majority, in order to get the sanction of the Irish parliament to the measure. On his arrival, a proclamation was published by his excellency and council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds, for discovering the author of the "fourth Drapier's Letter." Harding, the printer of that letter, was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be

prepared against him. Upon this occasion Swift wrote a short paper, called "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury, &c." copies of which were distributed to every person of the grand jury the evening before the bill was to be presented,* and had such an effect, that the bill was unanimously thrown out. Upon which the same lord chief justice, who had before acted with such violence in a former prosecution of the dean's printer, in a most arbitrary and illegal manner, discharged the jury in a rage. But this proceeding, far from serving the cause which he espoused, only rendered it the more desperate, by exasperating men's minds, already sufficiently provoked. For the next grand jury that was summoned, not content with screening the friends to their country, made a violent attack upon the enemy, by a strong presentment, drawn up by Swift, at the request of some of the jury.†

Upon this presentment, followed by several others in the different counties, the affair was looked upon as desperate, and being represented in that light to the ministry by Lord Carteret, the patent was withdrawn, and the halfpence suppressed.

Never was greater exultation shown upon any occasion than appeared in the whole nation, upon the defeat of this infamous project; the Drapier was hailed by the universal voice as the saviour of his country. His name resounded from shore to shore; his effigies were set up in

* "The nation was alarmed; the new coin was universally refused; but the governors of Ireland considered resistance to the King's patent as highly criminal; and one Whitshed, then chief justice, who had tried the printer of the former pamphlet, and sent out the jury nine times, till by clamour and menaces they were frightened into a special verdict, now presented the Drapier, but could not prevail on the Grand Jury to find the bill." Dr. Johnson.

† See this presentment in the twelfth volume of the present edition. *N.*

every street; and innumerable bumpers were daily swallowed to his health.

Whoever examines the "Drapier's Letters" with attention will find, that the great talents of Swift never appeared in a more conspicuous light than on this occasion. He saw that a plan was formed by the British minister to bring his country into the utmost distress. Notwithstanding the apparent opposition given to it by the Irish parliament and privy council, he knew too well the servile disposition of all men in office at that time, and their abject dependence on the minister, to suppose they would continue firm in their opposition at the certain loss of their places, if he was determined to carry the point. He saw therefore no possible means of preventing the evil, but raising such a spirit in the whole body of the people, as would make them resolve on no account whatsoever to receive this coin. His writings in the character of a Drapier were in such plain language, as rendered them perfectly intelligible to the meanest capacities. His arguments were so naturally deduced, and in such an easy series, from simple and evident principles, as carried the fullest conviction to every mind. But as it was necessary to his purpose to rouse the feelings, as well as convince the understandings of mankind; without ever appearing to apply at all to the passions, he raises them to the highest pitch, by seemingly casual strokes here and there interspersed. So that the whole, on a transient view, appeared what it professed to be, the work of an honest shopkeeper, of plain common sense, who started out of his sphere to commence writer, upon a view of the imminent danger with which his country was threatened; and who could not now and then, in the course of his argument, suppress the honest indignation which rose in his breast, at the unparalleled insolence of power, in treating a great and loyal kingdom with such indignity

as would have been thought intolerable, even by the inhabitants of the Isle of Man. Yet plain and simple as these writings seem to be at first view, and such as every common reader would imagine he could produce himself, upon a closer inspection they would be found to be works of the most consummate skill and art; and whoever should attempt to perform the like, would be obliged to say with Horace:

Sudet multum, frustraque laboret
*Quivis speret idem.**

I remember to have heard the late Hawkins Browne say, that the "Drapier's Letters" were the most perfect pieces of oratory ever composed since the days of Demosthenes. And indeed, upon a comparison, there will appear a great similitude between the two writers. They both made us of the plainest words, and such as were in most general use, which they adorned only by a proper and beautiful arrangement of them. They both made choice of the most obvious topics, which, by the force of genius, they placed in a new light. They were equally skilful in the arrangement and closeness of their arguments; equally happy in the choice and brevity of their allusions: each so entirely master of his art, as entirely to conceal the appearance of art, so that they seized on the passions by surprise. Nor were the effects produced by orations of Demosthenes on the Athenians, though set off with all the advantage of a most powerful elocution, greater than what followed from the silent pen of Swift. For in a nation made up of the most discordant materials, who never before agreed in any one point, he produced such

* "Who while they strive the same success to gain,
Should find their labour, and their hopes are vain."
FRANCIS.

a unanimity, that English and Irish, protestant, presbyterian, and papist, spoke the same language, and had but one voice. There is one advantage indeed which Swift had over Demosthenes, in that admirable vein of wit and humour, peculiar to himself, at which the other often made unsuccessful attempts; and of which, though sparingly, we find some shining instances scattered through those letters. One of which is so excellent, that I am tempted to present the passage to the reader; where, speaking in the assumed character of the Drapier, he says, "I am very sensible that such a work as I have undertaken, might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family, runs first to stop the door. All my assistance, were some informations from an eminent person; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions; and the rest I was not able to manage. I was in the case of David, who could not move in the armour of Saul, and therefore I rather chose to attack this uncircumcised Philistine (Wood I mean) with a sling and a stone. And I may say for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he resembles Goliah in many circumstances, very applicable to the present purpose: for, *Goliah had a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of* brass, *and he had greaves of* brass *upon his legs, and a target of* brass *between his shoulders.*—In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over *brass, and he defied the armies of the living God.*—Goliah's conditions of combat, were likewise the same with those of Wood: if he prevail against us, *then shall we be his servants.* But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he shall never be a servant of mine;

for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop."

Nothing showed the generalship of Swift in a higher point of view, during this contest, than his choice of ground both for attack and defence. He well knew of what importance it was to steer clear of party; and that if he had attacked the British minister as the real author, promoter, and abettor of this project, he would immediately have been stigmatised with the name of jacobite, and his writings of course disregarded. He therefore treated the matter all along as if there were no parties concerned but *William Wood, hardware-man*, on the one side, and the whole kingdom of Ireland on the other. Or, as he himself expresses it, it was *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. Nay he went farther, and finding that Wood in his several publications had often made use of Mr. Walpole's name, he takes upon him the defence of the latter, in several passages of his fourth letter, which he concludes thus: "But I will now demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr. Walpole is against this project of Mr. Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument; that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the *true interest* of the king his master; and that as his integrity is above all *corruption*, so is his *fortune* above all *temptation*." By the use of this irony, a double edged weapon, which he knew how to manage with peculiar dexterity, his argument cut both ways. To the bulk of readers it might pass for a real acquittal of Mr. Walpole of the charge brought against him, which would answer one end; and to those of more discernment, it obliquely pointed out the true object of their resentment; but this so guardedly, that it was impossible to

make any serious charge against the author of his having such a design.

In the course of these writings, Swift took an opportunity of laying open his political principles, declaring the most zealous attachment to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and utter abhorrence of the pretender; by which means he removed the chief prejudice conceived against him, on account of the ill-founded charge of his being a Jacobite, and opened the way for that tide of popular favour which afterwards flowed in upon him from all sides.*

During the publication of the "Drapier's Letters," Swift took great pains to conceal himself from being known as the author. The only persons in the secret were Robert Blakely, his butler, whom he employed as his amanuensis, and Dr. Sheridan. As Robert was not the most accurate transcriber, the copies were always delivered by him to the doctor, in order to their being corrected, and fitted for the press; by whom they were conveyed to the

* "Swift was known from this time by the appellation of *The Dean*. He was honoured by the populace as the champion, patron, and instructor of Ireland; and gained such power as, considered both in its extent and duration, scarcely any man has ever enjoyed without greater wealth or higher station. He was from this important year the oracle of the traders, and the idol of the rabble, and by consequence was feared and courted by all to whom the kindness of the traders or the populace was necessary. The Drapier was a sign; the Drapier was a health; and which way soever the eye or the ear was turned, some tokens were found of the nation's gratitude to the Drapier. The benefit was indeed great. He had rescued Ireland from a very oppressive and predatory invasion; and the popularity which he had gained he was diligent to keep, by appearing forward and zealous on every occasion where the public interest was supposed to be involved. Nor did he much scruple to boast his influence; for when upon some attempt to regulate the coin, Archbishop Boulter, then one of the justices, accused him of exasperating the people, he exculpated himself by saying, "If I had lifted up my finger, they would have torn you to pieces." Dr. Johnson.

printer in such a way as to prevent a possibility of discovery. It happened that Robert Blakely, the very evening of the day on which the proclamation was issued offering a reward of 300 pounds for discovering the author of the Drapier's Fourth Letter, had staid out later than usual without his master's leave. The dean ordered the door to be locked at the accustomed hour, and shut him out. The next morning the poor fellow appeared before him with marks of great contrition; when Swift would listen to none of his excuses, but abusing him outrageously, bade him strip off his livery, and quit his house that moment. "What—you villain," said he, "is it because I am in your power, you dare take these liberties? Get out of my house, you scoundrel, and receive the reward of your treachery."

Mrs. Johnson, who was at the deanery, and greatly alarmed at this scene, immediately despatched a messenger to Dr. Sheridan, to come and try to make up matters. Upon his arrival he found Robert walking about the hall in great agitation and shedding abundance of tears; inquiring into the cause of this, he was told that his master had just discharged him. The doctor bade him be of good cheer, for he would undertake to pacify the dean, and that he should still be continued in his place. "That is not what vexes me," replied the honest creature; "to be sure I should be very sorry to lose so good a master, but what grieves me to the soul is, that my master should have so bad an opinion of me, as to suppose me capable of betraying him for any reward whatever." When this was told to the dean, struck with the generosity of such a sentiment in one of his low sphere, he immediately pardoned him, and restored him to favour.* He also took

* "This story is told in a different manner by Mr. Deane Swift, with several improbable circumstances, which have not the least foundation in truth, as I had the account exactly as I have related

the first opportunity in his power of rewarding this man for his fidelity. The place of verger to the cathedral soon after becoming vacant, Swift called Robert to him, and asked him if he had any clothes of his own that were not a livery; to which the other replying in the affirmative, he desired him immediately to strip off his livery and put on those clothes. The poor fellow, quite astonished, begged to know what crime he had committed that he should be discharged—"Well—do as I ordered you," said Swift. When he returned in his new dress, the dean called the other servants into the room, and told them they were no longer to consider him as their fellow-servant Robert, but as Mr. Blakely, verger of St. Patrick's cathedral, which place he had bestowed on him, as a reward for his faithful services. The grateful creature poured forth a thousand blessings on him, and only begged as the greatest favour he could confer on him, that he might still be continued in the same station without fee or reward, as he was sure no one could give such satisfaction to his master in the discharge of it, as himself. As he was an excellent servant, and was accustomed to all Swift's peculiarities, the proposal could not but be very acceptable to the dean; and Mr. Blakely accordingly continued to officiate in that capacity for some time as a volunteer, without any of the badges of servitude. But the master was too liberal to accept of the generous proposal made by the servant; for, though he paid him no wages, he took care by handsome presents, to make him a full equivalent.

Another anecdote, relative to these halfpence, was communicated to me by Mr. Hoffsleger, a native of Germany, then a resident merchant of some eminence in

it immediately from my father." S.—The narrative of this story by Dr. Johnson is also somewhat different from Mr. Sheridan's; but the statement here given is the most likely to be correct. N.

Dublin; who was a spectator of the following scene which he described to me. The day after the proclamation was issued out against the Drapier, there was a full levee at the castle. The lord lieutenant was going round the circle, when Swift abruptly entered the chamber, and pushing his way through the crowd, never stopped till he got within the circle; where, with marks of the highest indignation in his countenance, he addressed the lord lieutenant with the voice of a Stentor, that re-echoed through the room, "So, my lord lieutenant, this is a glorious exploit that you performed yesterday, in issuing a proclamation against a poor shopkeeper, whose only crime is an honest endeavour to save his country from ruin. You have given a noble specimen of what this devoted nation is to hope for, from your government. I suppose you expect a statue of copper will be erected to you for this service done to Wood." He then went on for a long time inveighing in the bitterest terms against the patent, and displaying in the strongest colours all the fatal consequences of introducing that execrable coin. The whole assembly were struck mute with wonder at this unprecedented scene. The titled slaves, and vassals of power, felt, and shrunk into their own littleness, in the presence of this man of virtue. He stood supereminent among them, like his own Gulliver amid a circle of Lilliputians.

For some time a profound silence ensued. When Lord Carteret, who had listened with great composure to the whole speech, made this fine reply, in a line of Virgil's:

Res duræ, et regni novitas me talia cogunt
*Moliri.**

* ——————————" My cruel fate,
And doubts attending an unsettled state,
Force me," &c. DRYDEN.

The whole assembly was struck with the beauty of this quotation, and the levee broke up in good humour. Some extolling the magnanimity of Swift to the skies, and all delighted with the ingenuity of the lord lieutenant's answer.

When the patent was withdrawn, and of course all apprehensions about the coin were over, Swift retired to Quilca, a house of Dr. Sheridan's, in a desolate part of the country, where he passed some months in finishing and preparing his "Gulliver's Travels" for the press. Early in the next year, 1726, he set out for England, after an absence from that country of near twelve years. He was received with all demonstrations of joy by his old friends, whose attachment to this incomparable man seemed rather increased than diminished by absence. They all expressed the warmest wishes that he would quit Ireland and settle among them, and several plans were proposed to accomplish the point. Nor was Swift less desirous of returning to his own country, for he always considered it as such, being the country of his forefathers, though he happened, as he himself expresses it, to be dropped in Ireland: nor is it surprising that his heart yearned to pass the remainder of his days among a set of his old friends, who gave such proofs of their unalterable attachment to him, and were, at the same time, in point of talents and genius, the foremost men of the age. But, however ardent their wishes might be, there were little hopes of their being fulfilled, as both he and his friends were obnoxious to those in power. Some expectations were however formed from the favourable reception he met with at Leicester House. The Princess of Wales, afterward Queen Caroline, set up for a patroness of men of genius, and affected to converse much with all men distinguished for literature and talents. Upon hearing of Swift's arrival in London, she immediately sent to de-

sire to see him. Of this he gives the following account in a letter to Lady Betty Germain, 1732-3. "It is six years last spring since I first went to visit my friends in England, after the queen's death. Her present majesty heard of my arrival, and sent at least nine times to command my attendance, before I would obey her, for several reasons not hard to guess; and among others, because I had heard her character from those who knew her well. At last I went, and she received me very graciously." As Swift was no respecter of persons, and would speak his mind with the same freedom in the face of royalty, as in the most private company, the princess, struck with the novelty of such a character, and highly entertained with his peculiar vein of humour, was never weary of sending for him both in London and Richmond; and Swift, to keep up his consequence, never once attended her but by command. Mrs. Howard, first lady of the bedchamber to the princess, and her chief favourite, was the person who usually sent for him. As she was a lady of fine taste, and uncommon understanding, she soon contracted a high esteem for Swift, which was matured into a friendship, by the frequent opportunities she had of conversing with him in company with Pope and Gay, who were her great favourites. The peculiar marks of distinction shown him both by the princess and her favourite, together with the general discourse of the family at Leicester House, made his friends imagine that the first opportunity would be taken of making a suitable provision for him in England, from that quarter; and he himself, both then, and for some time after, seems to have formed some expectations of that kind, though naturally, and from his frequent disappointments in life, he was far from being of a sanguine disposition.

During his stay in England, his time was passed chiefly between Twickenham and Dawley, with his friends,

Pope and Bolingbroke, where he was visited by all the old fraternity. It was then Pope published his volumes of miscellanies, consisting of some of his own works, and Arbuthnot's, but chiefly of select pieces of Swift's. As this was the first time that any of his works were printed collectively, the sale was immense, and produced a considerable sum to Pope, who had the whole profit, as Swift was at all times above making any pecuniary advantage of his writings. During these transactions, he received several successive accounts of the desperate state of health, to which his dear friend Mrs. Johnson was reduced, and the little hopes there were of her recovery.* The distress of mind which he suffered on this occasion, together with a long fit of his old complaint, giddiness and deafness, had so totally disqualified him for society, that he stole away from his host at Twickenham, and retired into private lodgings, with an old relation for his nurse. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to bear the fatigue of a journey, he set out for Ireland, with the gloomy prospect of receiving the last breath of the person dearest to him in the world. However, before his departure, he took leave of the princess, who was very gracious to him, made apologies for not having some medals ready which she had promised him, and said she would send them to him before Christmas. On his arrival in Dublin, he had the satisfaction to find

* "The pleasure of popularity was soon interrupted by domestic misery. Mrs. Johnson, whose conversation was to him the great softner of the ills of life, began in the year of the Drapier's triumph to decline; and, two years afterwards, was so wasted with sickness, that her recovery was considered as hopeless. Swift was then in England, and had been invited by Lord Bolingbroke to pass the winter with him in France; but this call of calamity hastened him to Ireland, where perhaps his presence contributed to restore her to imperfect and tottering health." Dr. Johnson.

Mrs. Johnson on the mending hand, and her recovery, though slow, afforded the pleasing prospect of a long continuance to a life so dear to him.

During this visit to London, it was not only at Leicester House, but at St. James's also, that he met with a favourable reception; of which he makes mention in a letter to Lady Betty Germain, Jan. 8, 1732-3. "Walpole was at that time very civil to me, and so were all the people in power. He invited me, and some of my friends, to dine with him at Chelsea. After dinner I took an occasion to say, what I had observed of princes and great ministers, that if they heard an ill thing of a private person who expected some favour, although they were afterward convinced that the person was innocent, yet they would never be reconciled. Mr. Walpole knew well enough that I meant Mr. Gay.* But he gave it another turn; for he said to some of his friends, and particularly to a lord, a near relation of your's, 'that I had dined with him, and had been making apologies for myself."

He afterward had an interview with Sir Robert Walpole, through the intervention of Lord Peterborow; of which he gives the following account, in a letter to the said earl.

† "My Lord, April 28, 1726.

"Your lordship having, at my request, obtained for me an hour from Sir Robert Walpole; I accordingly at-

* To make this intelligible, it will be necessary to quote a former passage in that letter; where, speaking of Gay, he says, "He had written a very ingenious book of Fables for the use of her (the princess's) younger son, and she often promised to provide for him. But some time before, there came out a libel against Mr. Walpole, who was informed it was written by Mr. Gay; and although Mr. Walpole owned he was convinced that it was not written by Gay, yet he never would pardon him, but did him a hundred ill offices to the princess." S.

† *Lord Peterborough*, in a note to Swift, a little previous to the *date of this* letter, says, "Sir Robert Walpole, any morning, ex-

tended him yesterday at eight o'clock in the morning, and had somewhat more than an hour's conversation with him. Your lordship was this day pleased to inquire what passed between that great minister and me, to which I gave you some general answers, from whence you said you could comprehend little or nothing.

"I had no other design in desiring to see Sir Robert Walpole, than to represent the affairs of Ireland to him in a true light, *not only without any view to myself*, but to any party whatsoever: and because I understood the affairs of that kingdom tolerably well, and observed the representations he had received, were such as I could not agree to; my principal design was to set him right, not only for the service of Ireland, but likewise of England, and of his own administration.

"I failed very much in my design; for I saw he conceived opinions, from the examples and practices of the present, and some former governors, which I could not reconcile to the notions I had of liberty: a possession always understood by the British nation to be the inheritance of a human creature.

"Sir Robert Walpole was pleased to enlarge very much upon the subject of Ireland, in a manner so alien from what I conceived to be the rights and privileges of a subject of England, that I did not think proper to debate the matter with him so much, as I otherwise might, because I found it would be in vain."

In the remainder of the letter he enumerates the many intolerable burdens and grievances, under which that country laboured, and concludes it thus:

cept Tuesday and Thursday, which are his public days, about nine in the morning, will be glad to see you at his London house. On Monday, if I see you, I will give you a farther account." S.

"I most humbly entreat your lordship to give this paper to Sir Robert Walpole, and desire him to read it, which he may do in a few minutes. I am, &c."

I thought it necessary to lay this matter at large before the public, because, in consequence of this interview, all the Walpolians, and the whole party of the whigs, gave out, that Swift at that time made a tender of his pen to Sir Robert, by whom the offer was rejected; and even to this day, I am well informed, that some of that family, and their connexions, assert it as a fact.* But I would have those gentlemen consider, in the first place, what little credit they do to Sir Robert's understanding, in declining the assistance of the first writer of the age, at a time when he was throwing away immense sums upon authors of mean talents. In the next place, it is to be hoped that candour will oblige them to retract what they have said, as so convincing a proof is here produced of the falsehood of the charge. For, it is impossible to suppose that Swift would have made such a representation of the interview, utterly *disclaiming all views to himself*, and desiring that it might be shown to Walpole, if the other had it in his power to contradict it, and by so doing render him contemptible in the eyes of his noble friend, as well as of all his adherents. I have a letter before me written at that time to the Rev. Mr. Stopford, then abroad at Paris (afterward through his means bishop of Cloyne) in which he gives the same account. "I was lately twice with the chief minister; the first time by invitation, and the second, at my desire, for an hour, wherein we differed in every point: but all this made a great noise, and soon got to Ireland. From

* On this subject, Mr. Coxe, who, on other occasions, in his "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," is sufficiently severe against the dean, is wholly silent. N.

whence, upon the late death of the bishop of Cloyne, it was said I was offered to succeed, and I received many letters upon it, but there was nothing of truth in it; for I was neither offered, nor would have received, except upon conditions which would never be granted. For I absolutely broke with the chief minister, and have never seen him since. And I lately complained of him to the princess, because I knew she would tell him." I think it is hardly probable that Swift would have complained of him to the princess, if he had such a story to tell of him. His complaint certainly related to Walpole's unjust and impolitic maxim with regard to Ireland, which was the sole subject of their discourse. And it appears that he had often in his conversations with the princess, represented the cruel hardships under which that country groaned, insomuch that in a letter to Lady Suffolk, July 24, 1731, he says, "Her majesty gave me leave, and even commanded me, above five years ago, if I lived until she was queen, to write to her on behalf of Ireland: for the miseries of this kingdom she appeared then to be concerned."

Sir Robert himself never dropped any hint of this to Swift's friends, but in appearance seemed to wish him well. In a letter from Pope to him soon after his departure for Ireland, he tells him, "I had a conference with Sir Robert Walpole, who expressed his desire of having seen you again before you left us: he said, he observed a willingness in you to live among us, which I did not deny; but at the same time told him, you had no such design in your coming, which was merely to see a few of those that you loved; but that indeed all those wished it, and particularly Lord Peterborow and myself, who wished you loved Ireland less, had you any reason to love England more."

Whoever examines all Swift's letters at that time, will find, that he was far from having any ambitious views. His wish was to have a settlement among his friends; and he aimed no higher than to change his preferments in Ireland for any church living near them, that should not be much inferior in point of income, whether accompanied with any dignity or not. And this method of commuting benefices he chose, to avoid laying himself under any obligations to a party, of whose measures he so utterly disapproved. Of this we have a striking instance in the abovementioned letter, to an intimate friend then abroad, to whom a false representation of his sentiments could have answered no end; where he declares that he would not accept even of a bishopric, though offered him, except upon conditions, which he was sure would never be granted. In a letter about that time to Mr. Worrall, he expresses himself to the same effect. "As to what you say about promotion, you will find it was given immediately to Maule, as I am told, and I assure you I had no offers, nor would accept them. My behaviour to those in power, hath been directly contrary since I came here."

Is it possible to conceive that in this disposition of mind, a man of Swift's character, should wantonly put it in the power of a person whom he knew to be his enemy, to destroy his reputation, and ruin him for ever with his friends? In short, the matter is brought to this issue. It is evident, from what has been shown above, that Swift had but two interviews with Walpole, the one in public, the other in private. To what passed in the former, there were several witnesses; to the latter, no one but themselves. Of what then passed between them, Swift has given a distinct account in a letter to Lord Peterborow, which he desires might be shown to *Walpole*. If Walpole afterward represented any thing

in a different light, whose testimony is to be credited? That of a man of long-tried integrity, and undoubted veracity, giving an account of a transaction, wherein he sustained a part exactly suitable to his whole character and conduct in life: or that of a wily statesman, who stuck at nothing to answer his ends, charging Swift with a fact, utterly incompatible with his well known wisdom and grandeur of mind, and which must have shown him in the light of a perfect changeling. But it does not appear that Walpole himself ever made any such charge. Nor was it necessary; his end might be better, and more securely answered without it. Hints and innuendoes were sufficient materials for his tools to work upon, and fabricate what stories they pleased, which were industriously propagated with the strongest asseverations of their truth, by all their partisans, and this was one favourite method then in use, of undermining those characters, which they could not openly assault.* I have been the longer on this article, because it is the heaviest charge brought against Swift, and such as would at once destroy the integrity of his character: and because there never was any calumny

* Of this there was a strong instance given in regard to William Shippen; the honestest man and truest patriot that then sate in the house. When Walpole found, after repeated trials, that his virtue was proof against all the offers he could make, it was given out by his emissaries, that he privately received a pension from him: and that he was permitted to act the part of a patriot, in order to keep his influence with his party, on certain occasions, that he might be of more effectual service in matters of greater concern. And this report was so industriously spread, and with such confidence, that many gave credit to it during his life. Nor were they undeceived till it was found that, after his death, this worthy man, who had lived with the utmost frugality, left no more behind him than his paternal estate, which was barely sufficient to entitle him to a seat in parliament, and fifty pounds in cash, peculiarly appropriated to the charges of his funeral. S.

more industriously propagated by the whole body of the whigs, or more generally believed. And this too not among the middling class of mankind, but by persons of high rank and character. Of which I have a remarkable instance now before me, in an anecdote communicated to me by Dr. Clarke, formerly my tutor in the college, among several others collected by him relative to Swift, which is as follows: "When Lord Chesterfield was lord lieutenant of Ireland, I was present at his giving an account of Swift, which from a less creditable author, would be utterly disbelieved. He said, that to his knowledge Swift made an offer of his pen to Sir Robert Walpole: that the terms were, his getting a preferment in England equal to what he had in Ireland; and that Sir Robert rejected the offer; which Lord Chesterfield said he would not have done, had he been in Sir Robert's place. The whole of this transaction seems extremely improbable, particularly what he added, that the person who introduced him *was the famous Chartres.*" Good Heavens! Swift brought by the notorious Chartres to prostitute himself to Walpole, and this asserted as a fact by Lord Chesterfield: But his lordship kept very bad company in those days: I have not the least doubt but this story was told him by Chartres, and he considered his brother gambler as a man of honour.

Swift had set out for Ireland in the month of August and early in the November following appeared "Gulliver's Travels." As he had kept a profound silence with regard to this work, nor ever once mentioned it to any of his nearest friends during his stay in England, they were at first in some doubt whether it were his or not: and yet they concluded, as was done on a similar occasion, that it must be *aut Erasmi aut Diaboli.* They all wrote to him about it, considering it as his, and yet at the

same time kept a reserve, as having some reasons to be dubious about it.

Gay, in a letter, Nov. 17, 1726, writes to him thus: "about ten days ago a book was published here of the Travels of one *Gulliver*, which has been the conversation of the whole town ever since: the whole impression sold in a week; and nothing is more diverting than to hear the different opinions people give of it, though all agree in liking it extremely. 'Tis generally said that you are the author, but I am told the bookseller declares he knows not from what hand it came. From the highest to the lowest it is universally read, from the cabinet council to the nursery. You may see by this you are not much injured by being supposed the author of this piece. If you are, you have disobliged us, and two or three of your best friends, in not giving us the least hint of it. Perhaps I may all this time be talking to you of a book you have never seen, and which has not yet reached Ireland; if it have not, I believe what we have said will be sufficient to recommend it to your reading, and that you will order me to send it to you."

In like manner Pope says, "Motte received the copy, he tells me, he knew not from whence, nor from whom, dropped at his house in the dark, from a hackney coach: by computing the time, I found it was after you left England; so for my part I suspend my judgment."

This proceeding of Swift's might at first view be considered as one of his whims, but that it was his constant practice in all his former works of consequence, which he sent secretly into the world to make their own way as well as they could, according to their intrinsic merit, without any advantage which they might derive from the author's reputation. Nor was he ever known to put his name to any of his publications, except his letter to Lord Oxford about the English language. It is probable he

took great pleasure in hearing the various opinions of the world upon his writings, freely delivered before him while he remained unknown: and the doubts of Pope and Gay, occasioned by his profound secrecy on that head, must have given him no small entertainment. However, this extraordinary work, bearing the stamp of such an original and uncommon genius, revived his fame in England, after so long an absence, and added new lustre to his reputation.

In his return to Dublin, upon notice that the ship in which he sailed was in the bay, several heads of the different corporations, and principal citizens of Dublin, went out to meet him in a great number of wherries engaged for that purpose, in order to welcome him back. He had the pleasure to find his friend, Dr. Sheridan, in company with a number of his intimates, at the side of his ship, ready to receive him into their boat, with the agreeable tidings that Mrs. Johnson was past all danger. The boats, adorned with streamers, and colours, in which were many emblematical devices, made a fine appearance; and thus was the Drapier brought to his landing-place in a kind of triumph, where he was received and welcomed on shore by a multitude of his grateful countrymen, by whom he was conducted to his house amid repeated acclamations, of *Long live the Drapier*. The bells were all set a ringing, and bonfires kindled in every street. As there never was an instance of such honours being paid to any mortal in that country, of whatever rank or station, Swift must have been a stoic indeed, not to have been highly gratified with these unexpected, unsolicited marks of favour, from his grateful fellow-citizens.

But whatever satisfaction he might have in his newly acquired popularity, and the consequential power it gave him of being of some use to his country; yet the long disgust he had entertained at the management of all public

affairs; the deplorable state of slavery to which the kingdom was reduced; the wretched poverty, and numberless miseries, painted by him so often in strong colours, entailed by this means on the bulk of the natives, and their posterity; had long made him resolve, when opportunity should offer, to change the scene, and breathe a freer air in a land of liberty. His last short visit to his friends served to whet his resolution, and revived the desire which he had of returning to a country, where, as he expresses himself in a letter to Gay, he had passed the best and greatest part of his life, where he had made his friendships, and where he had left his desires. He was at a time of life too, being then in his sixtieth year, which called for retirement, and afflicted with disorders which impaired the vigour of his mind, and gave him frightful apprehensions that the loss of his mental faculties would precede the dissolution of his frame. He had no ambition left, of which we find, even in his prime, he had very little, except that of the noblest kind, arising from a desire of serving the public, and his friends, without any mixture of self. As his view was to make any exchange of his preferments in Ireland, for something like an equivalent in England, though not fully equal to them in point either of dignity or income, he thought the matter might be easily accomplished with but little interest; and this he had reason to hope would not be wanting, from the many hints he had received, that the princess was very desirous of bringing it to bear. With this view he kept up a correspondence with Mrs. Howard, in which several civilities, in his singular way, passed to the princess. He sent to the former a piece of Irish silk, of a fabric peculiar to that country, which the princess, as soon as she saw it, seized on for her own use, and desired that more of the same kind might be sent over for the princesses: this commission went to him from Mrs. Howard, telling him

at the same time, that she would remit the cost, in what way he should judge safest: but Swift, as he expresses himself in a letter to Lady Betty Germain, was too gallant to hear of any offers of payment. He had received several accounts from his friends, that the princess often spoke of him with great regard. Among others, Dr. Arbuthnot says, "I had a great deal of discourse with your friend, her royal highness. She insisted upon your wit, and good conversation. I told her royal highness, that was not what I valued you for, but for being a sincere, honest man, and speaking the truth, when others were afraid of speaking it."

As he had nothing to detain him in Dublin, Mrs. Johnson being to all appearance in a tolerable state of health, he set out for London early in March. But first gave notice to Mrs. Howard of his intended journey. From the following paragraph in this letter, we may judge on what free terms he lived with the princess, and may form some idea of the familiar manner of his conversing with her. "I desire you will order her royal highness to go to Richmond as soon as she can this summer, because she will have the pleasure of my neighbourhood; for I hope to be in London by the middle of March, and I do not love you much when you are there." Accordingly, on his arrival in London, he never saw the princess till she removed to Richmond; of which he gives this account in a letter to Dr. Sheridan, May 13: "I have at last seen the princess twice this week by her own command: she retains her old civility, and I, my old freedom." But Walpole and his party kept no farther measures with him, of which he makes the following mention in the same letter. "I am in high displeasure with Walpole, and his partisans. A great man, who was very kind to me last year, doth not take the least notice of me at the prince's court, and there has not been one of them

to see me." Perhaps the consciousness of the base means they used to wound his character, might have occasioned this change in their behaviour. For had the charge laid against him been founded, it would have been a most unaccountable cause of quarrel to Swift on the side of Walpole's partisans, that he had offered his service to that party, though its being rejected, might be a just foundation of resentment on his side.

Swift had for some time formed a design of passing some months in France for the recovery of his health, and was just upon the point of carrying it into execution, when the unexpected news of the king's death made him postpone it. As a total change of measures was expected to follow from this event, more flattering prospects were opened to him, than any he could have in view during the late reign. As the tories, upon the breach between the late king and prince, were well received at Leicester House, it was supposed they would no longer be proscribed as formerly.

Swift, in a letter to Dr. Sheridan, June 24, 1727, gives the following view of the state of affairs at that time. "The talk is now for a moderating scheme, wherein nobody shall be used worse or better, for being called whig and tory; and the king hath received both with great equality, showing civilities to several, who are openly known to be the latter. I prevailed with a dozen, that we should go in a line to kiss the king's and queen's hands.* We have now done with repining, if we shall be used well, and not baited as formerly; we all agree in it, and if things do not mend, it is not our faults; we have made our offers; if otherwise, we are as we were. It is agreed the ministry will be changed,

*Swift says, in a letter to Lady Betty Germain, that on this occasion he was particularly distinguished by the queen. S.

but the others will have a soft fall; although the king must be excessive generous if he forgives the treatment of some people."*

* It was generally supposed, on the accession of the late King, that Sir Robert Walpole would have been turned out of his employment with disgrace, as it was well known that both the prince and princess had retained strong resentments against him, on account of some parts of his behaviour toward them, during the rupture between the two courts. Accordingly, on the death of the old king, some immediate proofs were given that such was the intention. Sir Robert was himself the bearer of the tidings, and arriving in the night when the prince was a bed, sent to desire an audience, upon business of the utmost consequence, which would admit of no delay. The prince refused to see him, and ordered him to send in his business. Upon which he gave an account of the death of the late king, and said he waited there to receive his majesty's commands. The king still persisted in refusing to see him, and bade him send Sir Spencer Compton to him immediately. Sir Robert now plainly saw his downfall had been predetermined, and hastened to Sir Spencer with humblest tenders of his service, begging his protection, and earnestly intreating that he would screen him from farther persecution. When this story had got abroad, the habitation of the last minister became desolate, and the whole tribe of courtiers, as usual, crowded to the levee of the new favourite. Yet, in no long space of time afterward, to the astonishment of the whole world, Sir Robert was reinstated in his posts, and appeared in as high favour as ever. Various were the conjectures of the people upon the means employed by him to supplant his competitor, and reinstate himself in full possession of his power; while the true cause of this surprising change remained a secret, and was known only to a very few: nor has it yet been publicly divulged to the world.

Soon after the accession of George the First, it is well known, the whigs divided among themselves, and split into two parties in violent opposition to each other. Sunderland, Stanhope, and Cadogan, were the leaders of one side; Townshend, Walpole, Devonshire, and the chancellor, of the other. It happened at that time that the former were victorious; and the discarded party, in resentment, paid their court at Leicester House. Walpole had thought of a particular measure to distress their opponents, which he communicated to the heads of his party; it was approved of, and some of them thought that the prince should be let into it; but Walpole would by no means agree to this, and in his usual coarse way, said, "That the prince would communicate it to his wife, and that fat-a—d bitch would divulge the secret." By some means or other the princess was informed of

In the midst of this bustle, after viewing the state of things, Swift seems to have had by no means the same sanguine expectations that others of his party entertained; for he says in a letter to Dr. Sheridan, July 1, 1727, "Here are a thousand schemes wherein they would have me engaged, which I embraced but coldly, because I like none of them." And having some return of his disorder, he once more resolved for France. But, as he says himself, he was with great vehemence dissuaded from it by certain persons, whom he could not disobey. These were Lord Bolingbroke, and Mrs. Howard. The former writes thus to him, in a letter, June 24, 1727: "There would not be common sense in your going into France at this juncture, even if you intended to stay there long enough to draw the sole pleasure and profit which I propose you should have in the acquaintance I am ready to give you there. Much less ought you to think of such an unmeaning journey, when the opportu-

this; and it is to be supposed that the impression which so gross an affront had made on the mind of a woman, and a woman of her rank too, was not easily to be erased—*Manet altâ mente repôstum, &c.* After the necessary business upon the new accession had been finished, the affair of the queen's settlement, in case she should outlive the king, came on the carpet. Her majesty expected that it should be at the rate of 100,000*l.* a year; but Sir Spencer Compton would not agree to this, and thought 60,000*l* an ample provision, and as much as could be proposed with any prospect of success. While this dispute subsisted, Sir Robert Walpole found means to acquaint the queen privately by one of his confidants, that if he were minister, he would undertake to secure to her the settlement she demanded. Upon which the queen sent him back this remarkable answer: "Go tell Sir Robert that the fat-a—d bitch has forgiven him." He was accordingly, soon after, by the well-known ascendency which the queen had over the king, declared first minister; and Sir Spencer Compton removed to the upper house, with the title of Earl of Wilmington. This anecdote was communicated to me by the late Dr. Campbell, who was well known to have pried more into the secret springs of action, and to have had better opportunities of being informed of them, than most men of his time. S.

nity of quitting Ireland for England is, I believe, fairly before you." Of what passed between him and Mrs. Howard, he gives the following account in a letter to Lady Betty Germain: "In a few weeks after the king's death, I found myself not well, and was resolved to take a trip to Paris for my health, having an opportunity of doing it with some advantages and recommendations. But my friends advised me first to consult Mrs. Howard, because as they knew less of courts than I, they were strongly possessed that the promise made me might succeed, since a change was all I desired. I writ to her for her opinion; and particularly conjured her, since I had long done with courts, not to use me like a courtier, but give me her sincere advice, which she did, both in a letter, and to some friends. It was, 'By all means not to go; it would look singular, and perhaps disaffected; and my friends enlarged upon the good intentions of the court toward me."

Upon this Swift gave up his intended journey, and resolved to wait the issue of the present conjuncture; though from his long acquaintance with courts, and frequent disappointments, he put no great confidence in the assurances given him. But he was soon obliged to alter his measures; for being attacked with a long and violent fit of his old complaint, and at the same time receiving alarming accounts from Ireland, that Mrs. Johnson had relapsed, with little hopes of her recovery, he set out for that kingdom, on the first abatement of his illness. Before his departure he took leave of the queen in a polite letter to Mrs. Howard, apologizing for not doing it in person in the following passage: "I am infinitely obliged to you for all your civilities, and shall retain the remembrance of them during my life. I hope you will favour me so far as to present my most humble duty to the queen, and to describe to her majesty my sorrow, that my dis-

order was of such a nature, as to make me incapable of attending her, as she was pleased to permit me. I shall pass the remainder of my life with the utmost gratitude for her majesty's favours," &c.

On his arrival in Dublin he found Mrs. Johnson in the last stage of a decay, without the smallest hope of her recovery. He had the misery of attending her in this state, and of daily seeing the gradual advances of death during four or five months; and in the month of January he was deprived, as he himself expresses it, of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend, that he, or perhaps any other person was ever blessed with. Such a loss at his time of life was irreparable. She had been trained by him from her childhood, and had been his constant companion for five-and-thirty years, with every merit toward him that it was possible for one human creature to have toward another. His whole plan of life was now changed, and with it all his domestic comforts vanished. The only chance he could have had of enjoying the remainder of his days with any satisfaction, would have been the carrying into execution his proposed removal to England, to live among his old friends; but he soon found that all expectations from that quarter were at an end. In this forlorn state he found himself doomed to pass the remnant of his life in exile, in a country which was one of the last he would have chosen for his abode. But his spirit was too great to give way to despondence; and deprived as he was of the chief comforts which might alleviate the evils attendant on increasing years; disappointed in the only view which could make him look forward with hopes of any satisfaction or enjoyment to himself; he turned his thoughts wholly to the good and happiness of others. With this view he entered more earnestly into a twofold scene of action: one with regard

to the public at large; the other with respect to private individuals. In the former, out of compassion to the blindness and infatuation of the people, he laid open, in a variety of publications, the chief sources of the distresses and miseries under which that unhappy country laboured; at the same time pointing out the means by which they might be alleviated, or removed. In the latter, he increased his attention to some of the best planned, and best conducted charities, that ever were supported from a private purse. In this respect, there probably was no man in the British dominions, who either gave so much in proportion to his fortune, or disposed of it to such advantage. From the time he was out of debt, after his settlement at the deanery, he divided his income into three equal shares. One of these he appropriated to his own immediate support, and his domestic expenses; which, in those cheap times, with the aid of strict economy, enabled him to live in a manner perfectly agreeable to his own ideas, and not unsuitable to his rank. The second he laid up as a provision against the accidents of life, and ultimately with a view to a charitable foundation at his death. And the third, he constantly disposed of in charities to the poor, and liberalities to the distressed. As he sought out proper objects for this, with great caution and attention, trusting little to the representation of others, but seeing every thing with his own eyes, perhaps no equal sum disposed of in that way was ever productive of so much good. There was one species of charity first struck out by him, which was attended with the greatest benefit to numbers of the lowest class of tradesmen. Soon after he was out of debt, the first five hundred pounds which he could call his own, he lent out to poor industrious tradesmen in small sums of five, and ten pounds, to be repaid weekly, at two or four shillings, without interest. As the sums thus weekly paid

in, were lent out again to others at a particular day in each month, this quick circulation doubled the benefit arising from the original sum. In order to ensure this fund from diminution, he laid it down as a rule that none should be partakers of it, who could not give good security for the regular repayment of it in the manner proposed: for it was a maxim with him, that any one known by his neighbours to be an honest, sober, and industrious man, would readily find such security; while the idle and dissolute would by this means be excluded. Nor did they who entered into such securities run any great risk; for if the borrower was not punctual in his weekly payments, immediate notice of it was sent to them, who obliged him to be more punctual for the future. Thus did this fund continue undiminished to the last; and small as the spring was, yet, by continual flowing, it watered and enriched the humble vale through which it ran, still extending and widening its course. I have been well assured from different quarters, that many families in Dublin, now living in great credit, owed the foundation of their fortunes to the sums first borrowed from this fund.

His reputation for wisdom and integrity was so great, that he was consulted by the several corporations in all matters relative to trade, and chosen umpire of any differences among them, nor was there ever any appeal from his sentence. In a city where the police was perhaps on a worse footing than that of any in Europe, he in a great measure supplied the deficiency, by his own personal authority, taking notice of all public nuisances, and seeing them removed. He assumed the office of censor general, which he rendered as formidable as that of ancient Rome. In short, what by the acknowledged superiority of his talents, his inflexible integrity, and his unwearied endeavours in serving the public, he

obtained such an ascendency over his countrymen, as perhaps no private citizen ever attained in any age or country. He was known over the whole kingdom by the title of THE DEAN, given to him by way of pre-eminence, as it were by common consent; and when THE DEAN was mentioned, it always carried with it the idea of the first and greatest man in the kingdom. THE DEAN said this; THE DEAN did that; whatever he said or did was received as infallibly right; with the same degree of implicit credit given to it, as was paid to the Stagyrite of old, or to the modern popes. We may judge of the greatness of his influence, from a passage in a letter of Lord Carteret to him, March 24, 1732, who was at that time chief governor of Ireland, "I know by experience how much the city of Dublin thinks itself under your protection; and how strictly they used to obey all orders fulminated from the sovereignty of St. Patrick's." And in the postscript to another of March 24, 1736, he says, "When people ask me how I governed Ireland? I say, that I pleased Dr. Swift."

But great as his popularity was, it was chiefly confined to the middling and lower class of mankind. To the former of these his chief applications were made, upon a maxim of his own, "That the little virtue left in the world, is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by ambition, nor driven by poverty."

All of this class he had secured almost to a man. And by the lower ranks, and rabble in general, he was reverenced almost to adoration. They were possessed with an enthusiastic love to his person, to protect which they would readily hazard their lives; yet, on his appearance among them, they felt something like a religious awe, as if in the presence of one of a superior order of beings. At the very sight of him, when engaged in any riotous

proceedings, they would instantly fly different ways, like school-boys at the approach of their master; and he has been often known, with a word, and lifting up his arm, to disperse mobs, that would have stood the brunt of the civil and military power united.

As to the upper class of mankind, he looked upon them as incorrigible, and therefore had scarce any intercourse with them. He says himself, that he had little personal acquaintance with any lord spiritual or temporal in the kingdom; and he considered the members of the house of commons in general, as a set of venal prostitutes, who sacrificed their principles, and betrayed the interests of their country, to gratify their ambition or avarice. With these he lived in a continued state of warfare, making them feel severely the sharp stings of his satire; while they, on the other hand, dreading, and therefore hating him more than any man in the world, endeavoured to retaliate on him by every species of obloquy.

During this period, his faculties do not seem to have been at all impaired by the near approaches of old age, and his poetical fountain, though not so exuberant as formerly, still flowed in as clear and pure a stream. One of his last pieces, "Verses on his own Death," is perhaps one of the most excellent of his compositions in that way. Nor are two of his other productions, written about the same time, entitled, "An Epistle to a Lady;" and "A Rhapsody on Poetry," inferior to any of his former pieces. The two last were written chiefly with a view to gratify his resentment to the court, on account of some unworthy treatment he met with from that quarter. We have already seen, by what extraordinary advances on her part, he was allured to pay his attendance on the princess, during his two last visits to England; and the seemingly well founded expectations of his friends, that some marks of royal favour would be

shown him, both from the uncommonly good reception he had always met with, and the many assurances given to that effect. But from the time that the princess mounted the throne, all this was forgot. Nor was this productive of any disappointment to Swift, who had been too conversant with courts, not to look upon the most favourable appearances there, with distrust. Accordingly on his last return to Ireland, finding himself so utterly neglected by the queen, as not even to receive some medals which she had promised him, he gave up all hopes of that kind, and remained in a state of perfect indifference with regard to it. But, when he found that his enemies had been busy, instilling into the royal ear many prejudices against him, he entered upon his defence with his usual spirit. Among other artifices employed to lessen him in her majesty's esteem, there were three forged letters delivered to the queen, signed with his name, written upon a very absurd subject, and in a very unbecoming style, which she either did, or affected to believe to be genuine. Swift had notice of this from his friend Pope, who procured one of the original letters from the Countess of Suffolk, formerly Mrs. Howard, and sent it to him. In his indignant answer to Pope on this occasion, he has the following passages. "As for those three letters you mention, supposed all to be written by me to the queen, on Mrs. Barber's account, especially the letter which bears my name; I can only say, that the apprehensions one may be apt to have of a friend's doing a foolish thing, is an effect of kindness: and God knows who is free from playing the fool some time or other. But in such a degree as to write to the queen, who has used me ill without any cause, and to write in such a manner as the letter you sent me, and in such a style, and to have so much zeal for one almost a stranger, and to make such a description of a woman, as

to prefer her before all mankind; and to instance it as one of the greatest grievances of Ireland, that her majesty has not encouraged Mrs. Barber, a woollen draper's wife declining in the world, because she has a knack of versifying; was to suppose, or fear, a folly so transcendent, that no man could be guilty of, who was not fit for Bedlam. You know the letter you sent enclosed is not my hand, and why I should disguise my hand, and yet sign my name, is unaccountable. If the queen had not an inclination to think ill of me, she knows me too well to believe in her own heart that I should be such a coxcomb," &c.

In his letter to Mrs. Howard, then Countess of Suffolk, he says, "I find from several instances that I am under the queen's displeasure; and as it is usual among princes, without any manner of reason. I am told, there were three letters sent to her majesty in relation to one Mrs. Barber, who is now in London, and soliciting for a subscription to her poems. It seems, the queen thinks that these letters were written by me; and I scorn to defend myself even to her majesty, grounding my scorn upon the opinion I had of her justice, her taste, and good sense: especially when the last of those letters, whereof I have just received the original from Mr. Pope, was signed with my name: and why I should disguise my hand, which you know very well, and yet write my name, is both ridiculous and unaccountable. I am sensible I owe a great deal of this usage to Sir Robert Walpole," &c.

In this, as well as many other passages of his letters at that time, we see he attributes the ill offices done him with the queen, chiefly to Walpole; and accordingly he determined to keep no farther measures with him, but gave full scope to his resentment, in those poems, as well as several other pieces published afterward. Upon

the first appearance of the two poems, entitled, "An Epistle to a Lady," and "A Rhapsody on Poetry," Walpole was exasperated to the highest degree. The editor, printer, and publishers, were all taken up, and prosecutions commenced against them. As he had full proof that Swift was the author, in his first transport of passion, he determined to get him into his clutches, and wreak his chief vengeance on him.* With this view he had ordered a warrant to be made out by the secretary of state, for apprehending Swift, and bringing him over to be tried in London. The messenger was in waiting ready to be despatched on this errand, when luckily a friend of Walpole's, who was better acquainted with the state of Ireland, and the high veneration in which the dean was held there, accidentally entered, and, upon inquiry, being informed of his purpose, coolly asked him what army was to accompany the messenger, and whether he had at that time ten thousand men to spare, for he could assure him no less a number would be able to bring the Drapier out of the kingdom by force. Upon this Walpole recovered his senses, and, luckily for the messenger as well as himself, dropped the design. For had the poor fellow arrived in Dublin, and attempted to execute his commission, he would most assuredly have been im-

* These poems were sent to Mrs. Barber, then in London, by one Pilkington, in order that she might make what advantage she could by the sale of them, being a woman of merit, rather in distressed circumstances. This Pilkington at the same time carried letters of recommendation from Swift to Alderman Barber, lord mayor elect, by whom, in consequence of such recommendation, he was appointed city chaplain. Yet this man had the baseness to turn informer against his patron and benefactor, as the author, and Mrs. Barber, as the editor: who thereupon was confined for some time in the house of a king's messenger. But, as, upon examination, the gentlemen of the long robe could discover nothing in the poems that could come under the denomination of a libel, or incur any legal punishment, she and the publishers were released, and the prosecution dropped. S.

mediately hanged by the mob: and this might have involved the two countries in a contest, which it was by no means the interest of a minister to engage in.

But, whatever gratification it might have been to his ambitious spirit, to see himself raised by the voluntary suffrages of his countrymen, to a rank beyond the power of monarchs to bestow; to find himself considered by all as the first man in the realm; the general object of veneration to all who wished well to their country, and of dread to those who betrayed its interests; yet he was far from being at all satisfied with his situation. The load of oppression under which Ireland groaned, from the tyrannic system of government over that country, established by the false politics of England; the base corruption of some of the principal natives, who sacrificed the public interests to their private views; the supineness of others arising from despondency; the general infatuation of the richer sort, in adopting certain modes and customs to the last degree ruinous to their country; together with the miseries of the poor, and the universal face of penury and distress that overspread a kingdom, on which nature had scattered her bounties with a lavish hand, and which properly used, might have rendered it one of the happiest regions in the world: all these acted as perpetual corrosives to the free and generous spirit of Swift, and kept him from possessing his soul in peace. We have many instances in his letters, written at that time, of the violent irritation of his mind on these accounts. In one of them he says, "I find myself disposed every year, or rather every month, to be more angry and revengeful; and my rage is so ignoble, that it descends even to resent the folly and baseness of the enslaved people among whom I live." And in the same letter to Lord Bolingbroke, he says, "But you think, as I ought to think, that it is time for me to have done with

the world; and so I would, if I could get into a better, before I was called into the best, and not die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole." In one to Pope, speaking of his letters, he says, "None of them have any thing to do with party, of which you are the clearest of all men, by your religion, and the whole tenour of your life; while I am raging every moment against the corruptions in both kingdoms, especially of this; such is my weakness." And in one to Dr. Sheridan when he seemed under the dominion of a more than ordinary fit of his spleen, he tells him, that he had just finished his will, in which he had requested that the doctor would attend his body to Holyhead, to see it interred there, for, says he, "I will not lie in a country of slaves."

This habit of mind grew upon him immediately after the loss of the amiable Stella, whose lenient hand used to pour the balm of friendship on his wounded spirit. With her vanished all his domestic enjoyments, and of course he turned his thoughts more to public affairs; in the contemplation of which he could see nothing but what served to increase the malady. The advances of old age, with all its attendant infirmities; the death of almost all his old friends: the frequent returns of his most dispiriting maladies, deafness and giddiness; and above all, the dreadful apprehensions that he should outlive his understanding,* made life such a burden to him, that he had

* Dr. Young has recorded an instance of this, where he relates that, walking out with Swift and some others about a mile from Dublin, he suddenly missed the Dean, who had staid behind the rest of the company. He turned back, in order to know the occasion of it; and found Swift at some distance gazing intently at the top of a lofty elm, whose head had been blasted. Upon Young's approach he pointed to it, saying, "I shall be like that tree; I shall die first at the top." S.

no hope left but in a speedy dissolution, which was the object of his daily prayer to the Almighty.

About the year 1736, his memory was greatly impaired, and his other faculties of imagination and intellect decayed, in proportion as the stores from which they were supplied diminished. When the understanding was shaken from its seat, and reason had given up the reins, the irascible passions, which at all times he had found difficult to be kept within due bounds, now raged without control, and made him a torment to himself, and to all who were about him. An unusually long fit of deafness, attended with giddiness, which lasted almost a year, had disqualified him wholly for conversation, and made him lose all relish for society. Conscious of his situation, he was little desirous of seeing any of his old friends and companions, and they were as little solicitous to visit him in that deplorable state. He could now no longer amuse himself with writing; and a resolution he had formed of never wearing spectacles, to which he obstinately adhered, prevented him from reading. Without employment, without amusements of any kind, thus did his time pass heavily along; not one white day in the calendar, not one hour of comfort, nor did even a ray of hope pierce through the gloom. The state of his mind is strongly pictured in a letter to Mrs. Whiteway:

"I have been very miserable all night, and to day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, that I am not in torture; but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is, and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my

days will be very few; few and miserable they must be.

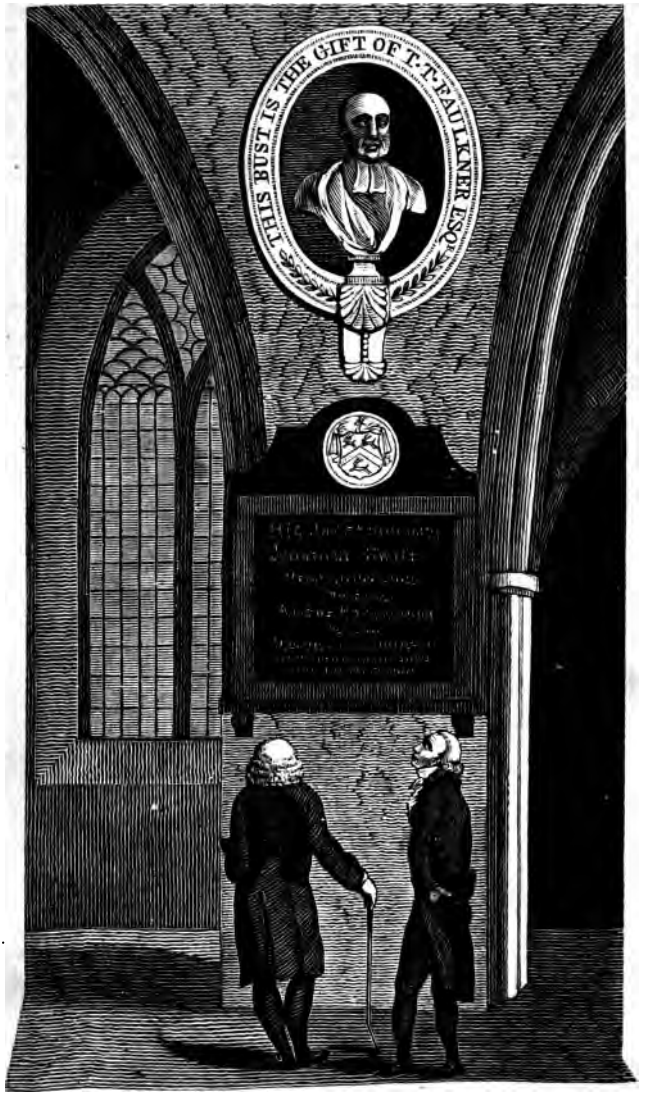
I am, for those few days,
Your's entirely,
J. SWIFT.

If I do not blunder, it is Saturday,
July 26, 1740."

Not long after the date of this letter, his understanding failed to such a degree, that it was found necessary to have guardians legally appointed to take care of his person and estate. This was followed by a fit of lunacy, which continued some months, and then he sunk into a state of idiocy, which lasted to his death. He died October 19, 1745.

The behaviour of the citizens on this occasion, gave the strongest proof of the deep impression he had made on their minds. Though he had been, for so many years, to all intents and purposes dead to the world, and his departure from that state seemed a thing rather to be wished than deplored, yet no sooner was his death announced, than the citizens gathered from all quarters, and forced their way in crowds into the house, to pay the last tribute of grief to their departed benefactor. Nothing but lamentations were heard all around the quarter where he lived, as if he had been cut off in the vigour of his years. Happy were they who first got into the chamber where he lay, to procure, by bribes to the servants, locks of his hair, to be handed down as sacred relics to their posterity.* And so eager were numbers to obtain at any price this precious memorial, that in less

* Yea beg a hair of him for memory,
And dying mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue. SHAKSPEARE



Monument of Dean Swift.

than an hour, his venerable head was entirely stripped of all its silver ornaments, so that not a hair remained.

He was buried in the most private manner, according to directions in his will, in the great aisle of St. Patrick's Cathedral; and by way of monument, a slab of black marble was placed against the wall, on which was engraved the following Latin epitaph, written by himself:

" HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS
DECANI:
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
ABI, VIATOR,
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.
OBIIT ANNO (1745);
MENSIS (OCTOBRIS) DIE (19);
ÆTATIS ANNO (78.)"

END OF VOL. I.

C. S. VAN WINKLE, PRINTER,
Pine-street, New-York.

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